A

True and Historicall Relation of the BLOODY BATTELL OF NIEUPORT IN FLANDERS,

Fought betweene Prince

MAURICE OF NASSAV,

(of blessed memory,)

AND

HIS HIGHNESSE ALBERT

Archduke of

AVSTRIA.

WONNE ON THE SECOND OF IULY, 1600.

Together with a briefe Relation of

Sr. FRANCIS VERE

Of famous memory, his Parley in

OSTEND,

And the Assault and Repulse of the Archdukes Army on the seventh of Ianuary, 1602.

Printed in Delff, 1641.

The Getty Research Library

To the truly Honourable, and moſt Noble Lord, IOHN *Earle of* CLARE, Baron of Haughton, &c.

HENRY HEXHAM
Wiſheth his Lordſhip all honour in this World,
and felicity in the next.

Right Honourable:

After I had finiſhed the three parts of the Principles of the Art Military, *practiſed in the Warres of theſe Vnited Provinces on our ſide, under the able* conduct *and* command *of the old Prince of Orange, our Lord Generall: I could give no reſt to my thoughts, till I had ſhut up all, and called to minde two brave and memorable Actions performed by my old Lord* Sir Francis Vere, *and his brother my Lord* Sir Horace Vere, *both of famous memory, touching their wiſe and valiant cariage in the battell of* Niewport *in Flanders, fought* Anno 1600. *on Sunday the ſecond of Iuly; as alſo the Parley in* Oſtend, *and the brave repulſe was given the enemy upon their aſſault, on the ſeventh of Ianuary, which your Lordſhip ſhall ſee here truly related. Now becauſe ſome have written, and laid ſome aſperſions upon Sir* Francis Veres *cariage in the latter action, and have not given him nor my Lord Sir* Horace Vere *their dues, to eternize their ever living memories, having beene Sir* Francis Vere *his page, and comming now into England, being an eye witneſſe, and preſent upon divers peeces of ſervices in that towne, therefore am better able to render an account thereof to the world, then thoſe that were abſent, and tooke it by heare-ſay, as a dutifull remembrance of both their fames. And ſeeing your Honour is matcht into that Noble Family, and hath eſpouſed the Lady* Elizabeth, *the eldeſt daughter of my Lord Sir* Horace Vere *of bleſſed memory, Baron of* Tilbury, *to whom I was much bound for my advancement. Theſe briefe hiſtoricall relations, preſent themſelves in all humility unto your Honours gracious patronage, which if it be acceptable, then I ſhall thinke my time and labour well beſtowed, and ſhall reſt,*

From my lodging in Milford lane, May 7. 1641. *ſtilo antique.*

Your Honours moſt humble and devoted ſervant,

Henry Hexham.

A TRVE AND BRIEFE RELATION OF THE BLOODY BATTEL OF *NIEVPORT* in *FLANDERS*, fought betwixt Prince *MAVRICE*, of happy memory, and *ALBERT Arch-duke of AVSTRIA*, Vpon the second of Iuly 1600. Stilo Novo.

THE Enemies forces in the yeere of our Lord 1600. being weake, & in a mutinie, the States of the Vnited Provinces seeing their affaires in disorder, took this advantage, & resolution to make an offensiue *Warre* in *Flanders*, as the fittest place to annoy the Enemy most, & to secure their owne state, if they could recover the wast Townes, which was the scope of their designe.

To this end, their Army was embarqued in 2080. smack ships, with purpose to haue landed at *Ostend*, but comming into *Zeeland*, & finding the wind contrary, resolved to disimbarke their Armie vpon the Coast of *Flanders*, by a Fort called *Phillippine*, lying vpon the river of the *Scheld*, where wee ranne our Vessels at a high *Water* (which for the most part were flat bottomd) a ground, so that the ebb falling, wee lay on dry land, & with much ease and readinesse wee landed both our Horse and Foote.

Our Armie then being landed, it consisted of some twelue thousand foote, and 3000. Horse, which were divided into three *Tercias* commanded by three seuerall Chiefes. The first by *Count Ernest of Nassaw*, The second by *Count Solmes*, And the third by Sir *Francis Vere*, every one interchangeably taking their turnes every day: namely, the *Avantguard* the *Battaile*, and the *Reere*.

The Avantguard.

The *Avantgard* was ordered thus, *Count Lewes of Nassaw*, brother vnto *Count Ernest*, led the *Avantgard* of the Horse, as being Lieutenant Generall, consisting of ten Cornets of horse, namely, his owne troupe, the troupe of Prince *Maurice*, which were *Curassiers*, commanded by Monsieur *Walraven* of *Gent*, *Count Henry Frederick* of *Nassaw* his Excies brothers troupe, led by Captaine *Bernard*, all which made one division. The second division was commanded by Monsieur *Marcelis Bacx* with his owne Cornet, & his Brother *Paul Bacxes*, and Captaine *Sales* brought vp the Reere, with these marched three troupes of Carabines, namely *Contelièrs*, *Peter Pany*, *and Battenburchs*.

To the Avantgard of Horse were ioyned these foote Companies, to wit, *Prince Maurice his guard*, commanded then by Captaine *Aa*: *Count Hohenloes guard* led by his Lieutenant *Strydhorst*, & after these marched the Regiment of Generall *Francis Vere*, consisting of 13 English Companies, his owne, Captaine *Taxleis* Seriant Major, Capt. *Denisses*: Capt. *Daniel Veres*: Capt. *Honniewoods*: Capt. *Hammonds*: Capt. *Ogles*: Capt. *Tyrrils*: Capt. *Fairefaxes*. Sr *Calistine Brockses*: Capt. *Fosters*: Capt. *Garnets*: and Capt. *Holcrofts*.

After these marched the Regiment of Sr *Horace Vere*: first his owne Company, then Captaine *Suttons*. Sr *Thomas Knolses*. Capt. *Purtons*, Monsi *Cicils*. Monsi *Morgans*, Monsi. *Metkercks*. Capt *Scots*. Capt. *Vavousours*. Capt. *de Caines Hartwirscons*. and Capt. *Denbies*. making of both these Regiments 24 *Colours* in all accounted to be some 1600 English.

Vnto the Avantguard were likewise ioyned the *Frizons* commanded by their Lieutenant Coronell *Iaco Hottinga*: as his owne company, The Baron of *Sidenisscoes*: The company of *Iasper van Eussum* Capt. *Michell Haghes*: Capt. *Grovestines*: Capt. *Oshetymes*: Capt. *Hans de Frize*: Capt. *Zagemans*: Capt. *Quirin de Blauws*: Capt. *Edzard Grovesteines*: Capt. *Iohn Kiefs*: Capt. *Egbert Hovens*: Capt. *Holsteynes*: Capt. *Assuerus*: Capt. *Garrat Schages iunior* Capt. *D. Arussmas*: & Capt. *Riperdaes*: making in all 17 Companies, so that the *Avantgard* consisted of forty foote Companies, over which Sir *Francis Vere* commanded in cheife.

The Battaile.

The Battaille was commanded by *Count George Edward* of *Solmes*: as first, his owne troupe of Horse, his brothers *Count Fredericks* of *Solmes*, the troupe of *Iostling Wierick Cloutes*: and Capt. *Iohn Bacxes*, which made the first division of Horse. In the second division were these troupes following, as *Godrad de Bales*: *Sir Francis Veres*: commanded then by Capt. *Pembrooke*, and Sir *Edward Cicils*: making together seuen Cornets.

Vnto theſe horſe troupes were ioyned theſe foote companies, the *Wallon*, or *new Geux* Regiment of Prince *Frederick Henry de Naſſaw*: (now his Highneſſe) commanded by Sir *Daniel Hertain* Lord of *Marquet* his Lieutenant Coronell, with which regiment Prince *Henries* own company Marched. Capt. *de Bouts*: Capt. *Anthony Saucies:* Capt. *Francis Marleis* Capt. *Francis Mareschals*: Capt. *Philips de la Lous:* Capt. *Nimmeries:* Capt. *Ionas Durands*: & Capt. *Gabriel de Nouvelles:* making together 9. companies, to theſe alſo were ioyned the foure Swiſſers companies, to wit, Capt. *Hans Kriecks de Ballichom:* Capt. *Hans Sas van Vnderwalt:* Capt. *Hans Meyer of Zurich*: and Capt. *William de Puits.*

The Battaille likewiſe conſiſted of two diviſions of French: The firſt was commanded by *Monſieur de Dommerville*, Lieutenant Coronell to *Monſieur de la Noue*, in which were his owne Companie, Monſieur *de Rogueſes*, and Capt. *du Saltz.*

In the ſecond diviſion were the companies of Capt. *Simendrie: Mareſchats: Hamlets:* Capt. *Bruſe de Corimers*, led by his Lieutenant, who was ſhot before *Albertus Fort* The Companies of Monſieur *du Fort*, de *Formenteirs*, de *Verneville:* & *Du Pont Auberts:* making together twelue Companies: In the midſt whereof Prince *Maurice* was himſelfe to give order every where, accompanied with his brother Prince *Frederick Henry de Naſſaw*: and divers other Lords: namely, *Iohn Adolph Duke of Holſteyn, Iohn Erneſts* Prince of *Anhalt*, three Counts of *Solmes*, namely, Count *Frederick*, Count *Albert Otho*, and Count *Henry William Solmes*, Count de *Colligny* Lord of *Chaſtillon*, nephew to that famous Admirall of France, the Lord *Gray*, Sr *Robert Drury*, the Lord *Iuſtinus de Naſſaw*, with many other brave *Volunteirs* & *Engliſh* gentlemen of quality, *French*, & *Germans*, who attended the Princes perſon the whole Battaille then conſiſted of 7 troupes of Horſe, and 25 companies of foore.

The Reere.

The Reere was commanded by Monſ. *Oliver Temple*, Lord of *Corbeke*, Sariant Maiour Generall, & conſiſted of three Cornets of Horſe, namely, Capt. *Wernard de Bois:* Capt. *Hameltons:* and Monſieur *Conteliers* troupe, over which Monſieur *Bois* commanded.

There was in the Reere alſo three battalions of Foote, to wit, the Regiment of Count *Erneſt of Naſſaw*, (who commanded this *Tercia*) his owne Company, Capt. *Huſemans*, Capt. *Naſſaws:* Capt. *Imbizes:* Capt. *Cotwitz:* Capt. *Balthaſars:* Capt. *Eſſums*, Capt. *Pithans*, The old company of Count *Erneſt*: Capt. *Crimwitz*. Capt. *Breeds*: *Lucas Neuſars*: and Capt. *George Weckerlies:* this made the firſt diviſion, and conſiſted of 13 Collours.

In the ſecond diviſion were the Lord of *Giſtelles* his company Coronell, The company of *George Edward* Count *Solmes*, Capt. *Irelons:* Capt. *Freboughs:* Capt. *Ammonvillers:* Capt. *Longfeild*, Capt. *Ruſſies:* and Capt. *Flores de Winegarden.*

In the third diviſion, there was the Regiment of Coronel *Huchtenbrooke* his company Coronel, Monſieur *Temples* company, Capt. *Marlin:* Capt *Dederick de Iongs:* Capt. *Ruyſenbourghs:* capt. *Iohn Loones:* & capt. *Calverts:* making in all 3 troupes of Horſe, & 26 foote companies, & thus the Armie was ordered into the Avantgard, the Battaille, & the Reere, the day wherein the Battell was fought.

The Archdukes Armie conſiſted of 19 Cornets of Horſe, with his owne troupe, Commanded by *Don Roderigo de Laſſo*, & were al Lanciers, but only one troup of Harquebuſſiers, as namely, the *Admirant of Arragon* his troupe, *Don Iuan de Braccamontos, Don Iuan de Silvas: Don Phillepoos de Arrelanos: Don Ferdinando de Guavaras: Don Guillielmos de Verdugos, Il Conte Giacomo Belgioſos, il Cavelloro Vicontes: and Carolos de Sangros: all Lanciers: Il Conte de Salines, Capitano Ryferhey.s: Capitano de Foreſts Curaſſiers, Michel de Telles: Ian van Cepates: Nicolas de Bher: aud Captaine Franaſco de Roves* to which were ioyned 600 horſe more, that had mutined at *Dieſt*, making in all ſome 25 hundred Horſemen.

The Enemies Battaillons of Foote conſiſted of three Spaniſh Regiments, under the command of *Don Ieronimo de Monroy: Don Iaſper de Sapenas, and Don Lewes de Villars* Regiments. There were alſo two Italian Regiments, vnder the Conduct of *Don Alphonſo de Avillos.* The two regiments of the *Count of Bucquoy*, as that of *Burlottes:* and *Beſtocks the* Count *de Bucquoy commanding* the reere, divers other companies drawne out of the regiments of *Count Frederick vander Berke:* The *Marqneſſe of Varrabons*, the Earle of *Barlamonts* The Lord of *Archicourt, Balanſons*, and others.

Their army conſiſted of ſome 15 thouſand foot, and 25 hundred horſe, beſides their

Mutiniers

Mutiniers, all old and experienced ſouldiers, and were alſo divided into three *Brigadoes*, as the *Avantgard*, the *Battell*, and the *Reere*, as the two figures following here vnto annexed ſhall Demonſtrate.

Now before the Armies mett, it was conſulted wherein the Armie ſhould be firſt employed, either in takeing the *Forts*, which the Ennemie held in the lowe, and broken grounds about *Oſtend*, or in the ſeige of *Nieuport*: the latter being reſolued vpon the States (who had all this while marched, and abode with the Armie) departed to *Oſtend*, to take the *Fort Albertus*, and to open the paſſage betweene that Towne and *Nieuport*: Prince *Maurice* with the reſt of the Armie, leaving the Fort of *Ouldenbourgh*, & the others, which the Ennemie had forſaken well garded, as behouefull (becauſe without forcing them, the Ennemy could not come vnto vs, but with fetching a great compaſſe) marched by *Hemſkerck*, towards a Fort called the *Damme*, lying vpon the River that goeth to *Nieuport*, but finding the Countrie weake, and Moorish, and not able to carry the weight of our Carriages, and Artillerie, returned by a ſmall village not farre from *Hemſkerck*, and lodged there, thence croſſed through the Meddowes towards the ſea ſide, filling many ditches, & laying bridges to paſſe over the waters, whereof that Countrie is full, and ſo with much adoe wee gott to the *Downes* by the ſea ſide, and encamped about a Canon ſhott from the Fort *Albertus*, which was before rendred vp to *Count Solmes*. Earely in the morning wee marched along the ſea ſide towards *Nieuport*. And at the ebbe waded over the river on that ſide, which maketh the Haven of that Towne, and ſo encamped there, and ſpent two or three daies in quartering, and entrenching our ſelves in places of advantage, for our owne ſafetye, and the beſeiging of the Towne, laying a ſtone-bridge over the narroweſt of the Haven for our Carriages, and troupes to paſſe too and fro at all times, & as occaſion required. The Archduke having vnderſtood that his Excie was ſatt downe before *Nieuport* gathered a head, and marched with all expedition with his Armie towards the Downes, paſſing the very ſame waye, which his Excie did, that he might the ſoner relieue *Nieuport*. In the meane time his Excie was advertized from thoſe of *Oſtend*, and *Ouldenhourg*, that the Ennemy with good troupes of horſe and foote, were come and lodged neere the Fort, whereupon conſulting, the opinions were diverſe, moſt of them agreeing, that it was onely a *Bravado* made by *Ribus*, who as wee heard before had gottē vp in the land ſome 4000 men together neere vnto *Sluce*, to divert vs from our enterprize, and that then vpon our Removall towards him, he would make his retreate to the *Sluce* againe. But Sr *Francis Vere* was of the opinion, that it was the groſſe of their Armie, and how it was very needefull without any delay, to march thetherwards with our Armie alſo, leaſt the Fort, & the reſt fell into the Ennemies hands, who might then come and lodge at our backs, & cut of our paſſage to *Oſtend* to the extreame annoyance of our Armie: That in vſing diligence to prevent the Ennemie frō takeing theſe Forts, wee might at once block vp, & beſeige thoſe which the Ennemy held in the lowe & drowned lands, being an *Enterprize* equall with that of *Nieuport*. While theſe things were thus a diſputing that night came Meſſengervpō Meſſenger to the Prince to give him to vnderſtand, firſt that the Ennemy had Cannon & that thoſe of the *Fort* were ſummoned in the Archdukes name & afterward it was yeelded to him vpō conditions. Thrice that night vpon general & falſe *alarums*, Sr *Francis Vere* was called vp from his reſt, which confirmed him in his former opinion, that the Ennemie was comming towards vs, and that the Fort being yeelded into the Ennemies hands, it was needfull, that the whole Armie with all ſpeede ſhould returne over the water, to ſtop the Ennemy, from gayning the paſſage, our ſelues had made through the drowne land, and to poſſeſſe the ſame, which was the ſhorteſt, and the readieſt waye the Ennemie had to the Downes and ſea ſide. Theſe reaſons (of Sr *Francis Veres*) his Excie liked not, but reſolving to foreſlow the Ennemie, as much as poſſibly might bee, that hee might gaine the more time: & therefore the ſecond of July at the breake of the day he ſent from the Armie before *Nieuport*, his *Nephew* & Coſen *Count Erneſt of Naſſaw*, with two Regiments of foote, the one *Schots*, the other *Zealanders* with foure troupes of horſe, makeing ſome 2000 footemen, & 500 horſe, with ſome Ordnance & materialls, to entrench vpon the paſſage, vnto whome the States ſent out alſo, according to his Excies order,

ſome companies out of the garniſon of *Oſtend*, and thoſe which came out of the Forts of *Ouldenborg*, *Plaſſendale* and *Bredene*, to hinder the Ennemie from paſſing the Bridges, which laye over certaine waters vpon the waye, as you goe toward the Fort *Albertus*, the Prince ſaying he would followe, & ſecond them with the reſt of the Armie in due times.

But before they came thither, the Ennemy had ſeized vpon thoſe Bridges, and having paſſed over them with the choiſe of his Armie, it was impoſſible for ſo ſmall a number to hold vp & ſtopp the Ennemies paſſage towards the *Downes*: the afore ſaid Regiments being engaged in fight with the Ennemie, & finding themſelves too weake, to reſiſt any longer ſo puiſſant an Armie, after they had brauely defended themſelues, and carryed themſelves like good Souldiers, were at laſt put to flight, the moſt loſt falling then vpon the Scotch; aſwell vpon their chiefes, & Captaines, as Gentlemen, and priuate Souldiers, who fought it out ſtoutly: ſoo that there were ſlaine about 800. dead vpon the place, amongſt the which, there were eleuen Captaines many Lieutenants and Officers. The *Arch-duke* having gott this Victorie, wrote to *Brugges* that he had overthrowne the *Avantgard* of *Prince Maurice*, and that he was ſo farre engaged with the reſt of his Armie, that they could not eſcape out of his hands: in ſo much, that this day they began to triumph at Brugges, and the adiacent Townes in ringing their bells, as though they had gayned already the Victorie.

Now the newes of this defeate put the Lords the States into a great perplexity, conſidering what a danger the countrie was in, if any misfortune ſhould happen to our Armie which laye before *Nieuport*, and encamped on both ſides of the Haven, the Souldiers being ſeparated one from an other, which droue them into a great feare. And therefore being in ſuch an extremitie, when all humaine meanes failed them, they tooke their refuge to the Lord of Hoſts by prayes and aſſembled themſelves, and all their traine with diverſe Officers and people of the Towne of *Oſtend* into their chambers where their Miniſter *Vtenbogaert* made prayers vnto God for the preſervation of the perſon of his Extie, the Lords, Chiefes and Commandours, which were with him, yea the whole Army, that God would be pleaſed to give them a happie ſucceſſe.

The Archduke being encouraged with this advantage, and defeate, which he gott ſo quickly over our men, marched in all haſt towards *Nieuport*, imagining to finde his Extie and all his Army ſo amazed by this overthrow, that he might eaſely put our men to route. But God had his eye of providence vpon the State of theſe Countries, and the defenſe of his Church in them, giving his Excie ſuch wiſedome, that he commanded away all the ſhipping, & boates from *Nieuport* towards *Oſtend*, & with all gave order that all his troupes ſhould be ready to paſſe the Havē of *Nieuport* at a lowe water, to gett on the other ſide, with a couragious reſolution, to make head againſt the Ennemy, & to give him battell, according to which his Excie went from troupe to troupe to animate and encourage his Souldiers. That ſeing they had the ſea on the on ſide, and the Ennemies Armie on the other ſide betwixt them, and ſaw that there was now noe meanes in the world to eſcape, but to fight it out and beate through their Armie: conſidering that his Extes reputation depended thereon, yea all their honours, their liues and the good of the countrie lay now all the ſtake, & that now they would carry thēſelues brauely & couragiouſly, with aſſurance that God would give them a bleſſed iſſue. The like alſo did all the chiefs, Commanders & Captaines to there Souldiers. Prince *Henry* (now his highneſſe) did likewiſe encourage alſo his *Wallons*, or new *Geux*, being of his Regiment to doe the like.

The reſt of the Armie was commanded to march to the water ſide by the breake of day to paſſe over the Haven with the firſt ebbe, being then Sr Francis Veres his turne to have the *Avantgard*, which made him carefull not to be wanting in his duty, ſo as in due time his troupes were at the place appointed, and becauſe the water was not yet paſſable, he went to his Excie to know his further pleaſure, whome he found by the bridge with moſt of the chiefes & Officers of the Armie, where not longe after, newes was brought him, that the Ennemies Armie was paſſing the *Downes*, and marching towards vs, whereupon Sr *Francis Vere* adviſed his Excie that all poſſible ſpeede muſt be vſed to paſſe the Furrs before

fore the Ennemy was poſſeſſed of the other ſide of the Haven. His Excie willed him in all things to doe as he ſaw cauſe, and calling to him *Count Lodewijck of Naſſaw* (who then commanded the Horſe as Generall) badd him goe along with Sr *Francis Vere*, and follow his directions, ſo Sr *Francis Vere* left the Prince, and went to his troupes, and as ſoone as the tyde ſerued he paſſed his men, which ſtood there in three *Battailions*. The Souldiers would haue ſtripped themſelues to have kept their cloaths drie, as Sr *Francis Vere* willed them when he croſſed the haven firſt, but afterward thought it not expedient, the Ennemie being ſo neere at hand, and therefore he willed them to keepe their cloaths on, and not to care for wetting them: ſeeing they ſhould neede none that day or elſe haue better and dryer cloaths to ſleepe in that night.

Count *Lodwijck* paſſed firſt with his fiue *Cornets* of Horſe, whereof two of them were *Harquebuſſiers*, and advanced towards the Ennemie, and entertayned ſhirmish with two of the Ennemies troupes, and then followed all the reſt, which were ſcare gott over on the other ſide of the ſhore, but they ſaw the Ennemie ſtand in full *Battaille*, betweene them and *Oſtend*: inſomuch that if the Ennemie had but advanced, he might haue prevented his Excie from paſſing his foote over the haven. Now the Ennemy not knowing how many of our men were paſſed over the haven, becauſe of the great duſt, which aroſe and blinded their ſight, made a halte a longe time by the ſea ſhoare, which gaue his Excie time & leiſure to paſſe over the *English* & *Frize* Regiments, with his Excie *gard*, & Count *Hohenloes*, all commanded by Sr *Francis Vere*. Then followed the *French* Regiments, the *Wallones*, & *Swiſſers*, which made the Battaile (as is ſaid) commanded by Count *George Everard of Solmes*, and after them almoſt all the reſt of the horſe. The Regiment of Count *Erneſt*, *Giſtelles* & *Huchtenbrookes* made the Reere. The Regiments of *Giſtelles*, and *Vtenbrooke*, which were vnder the Conduct of Count *George Everard of Solmes*, were left before the Towne of *Nieuport*, to block it vp, with charge to ſtand vpon their gards, and vpon his Excies firſt order, to be ready to paſſe over the bridge, which was made with boates, and plankes ouer the haven of *Nieuport*: how the Armie was diſpoſed into the *Vantgard*, *Battaile* & *Reere*, as yow haue heard already. When the troupes of the Vauntgard were paſſed Sr *Francis Vere* left the footemen ſtanding ranged in their order, betwixt the Downes, or *Sandhills* and the ſea, and with the horſe he advanced towards the Ennemie, whome wee diſcouered a farre of comming towards vs alonge the ſea ſide, not to engage a ſkirmish, or fight, but to chooſe a fit place to attend them in, which was now the onely advantage wee could by induſtrie gett of the Ennemie: for by ſituation of the Countrie, that skill and dexterity wee preſumed to exceede our Ennemies in (which was the apt agile moof our *Battaillions*) was vtterlie taken from vs: for the ſpace betwixt the ſea, and the *Sandhills*, or *Downes*, was commanded by the Sandhills, which conſiſted of many heads, reared and commaunding one an other, conteyning ſo much bredth in moſt places, that our troupes could not occupie the whole, and every where ſo confuſedly packed together, ſo broken, & ſteepe, that our troupes could neither diſcouer what was done a ſtones caſt before them, nor advance forward in any order to ſecond one another if neede required. And on the other ſide of the Downes towards the firme land, if the whole bredth were not poſſeſſed, the Ennemy might paſſe to the Haven of *Nieuport*, where our bridge, and moſt of our ſhipping yet lay on the dry ground, and ſo to ſpoyle and burne them in our *View*. To prevent then all theſe inconvemences, Sr *Francis Vere* went to finde out a place, where the hills, and Downes ſtood in a manner divided, with a hollow bottome narrow and the hills higher to the ſea ſide, & North, then towards the Iland, & South part, which ranne cleane thwart from the ſea ſands to the Iland, the Downes being there alſo of no great bredth: ſo that wee might conveniently occupie thē with our front, & commaund the ſea ſhoare, and the waye that laye betwixt the lowe Iland, & the foote of the Downes on that place which was on the higher ſide of the bottome, Sr *Francis Vere* reſolued to attend the Ennemy there, and therefore cauſing his troupes to advance, drew from the whole *Avantgard* abont a 1000 men, to wit 300 English, the Princes guard, & ſuch other companies as vſually march with it 250 and of the *Frizons* 500 which were muskettiers, two troupes conſiſting of ſhott, and pikes, the English and 50 of his Excies guard they la-

ced on the topp of the hill that lay more advanced then the reſt, which being ſteepie, and ſandie was not eaſely to be encountred, & in the topp ſo hollowe, that the men laye covered from the hills on the other ſide, & might shoote from it, as from a *Bulwarke*.

Iuſt behinde this hill ſome 100 paces frō it, was another farre more higher, on the toppe, whereof Sr *Francis Vere* placed 200 men of the troupe of the gard, in which alſo (with a litle labour of the Souldiers,) they laye in a good covert, theſe two hills ioyned together with a ridge ſomewhat lower then the foremoſt hill, which endwaies laye Eaſt, and *Weſt*, and broadwaies looked towards the South, and Inlands, and commaunded all the ground paſſable, on the outſide, ſteepe, looſe, & ſandie & ill to be encountred, within the hollow he placed 500 Muskettiers, giving charge to the Officers to beſtowe their shott onely to the Southwards, when time should ſerue, which was directly on the right ſide, and flanke as wee then ſtood turned towards the Ennemie. Betwixt theſe two hills on the left hand or flanke, which looked towards the ſea, Sr *Francis Vere* placed 700 men in covert places for that purpoſe to be neere the ſea ſand, that with eaſe, and good order in an inſtant, they might breake out into two or foure troupes all which were English.

The Ennemie ranged their forces to the Northwards, directly on our left flanke, & ſo they adventured to paſſe by vs to the other troupes, with intent to leaue them in his eye more Eaſterly vpō the ſands, then on the Inermoſt of the two hills, which Sr *Francis Vere* perceiving, ranged in a Front (with a ſpace betwixt them) the other two troupes of the English. And a pretty diſtance behinde them, more to the ſea-wards ordered the *Frizons* in foure *Battaillions*, two in front with a ſpace to receiue betwixt them one of the other *Battallions*, that ſtood behinde them. And the files & intervals behinde the troupes, as cloſe one to another as conveniently might bee, to leaue the more ſpace for the ranging of the other *Battaillions* with a compitent diſtance betweene each diviſion: ſo that one troupe might not shaddow an other, but that all of them might be in the Ennemies eye in an inſtant: inſomuch that the *Avantgard* tooke vp about one third part of the Downes, leaving the reſt to be manned by the other troupes, as occaſion should require, & on the left hand & the outtermoſt towards the ſea more advanced, were the horſemen placed. This worke was ſcare done, when as his Excie Prince *Maurice* with the reſt of the chiefs, & Commandours of the Armie came to the head of Sr *Francis Veres* troupes, where his Excie in the hearing of many putt it in deliberation, whether he should advance towards the Ennemie with his Armie, or attend their comming. Thoſe that ſpake (as moſt men in thoſe caſes will not ſeeme fearefull) councelled him to march forwards: for they thought it would daunte the Ennemie much, & make the Victorie more eaſie, whereas in attending him, he would gather courage out of an opinion of our feare by takeing the oppertunity of our ſtaye, to fortifie vpon our paſſage to *Oſtend*, & ſo cut of our victuals & retreate. Herevpon, Sr *Francis Vere* alledged, that their Armie having bene gathered vp in haſt, & brought into a Countrie, where they intended noe ſuch warre, could neither haue proviſiōs of victuals with it, nor any *Magazines* in thoſe parts to furnish them therewith, nor any ſtore in that naked Countrie in the latter end of a yeare could be expected: ſoo that there was noe feare, that they should ſettle themſelues there, to ſtarue vs, who had ſtore of victuals in our shipping, & the ſea open to ſupply vs with all ſailing windes, with the vaine courage they should gett by our ſuppoſed feare, after a longe march, & comming vpon vs downe thoſe ſandie ſteepe-hils in the extremity of heate would be wearied, & ſpent before they could come vnto vs, & then finding vs freſh & luſtie, ready to receiue them in the ſtrength of our advantage, in all reaſon it would turne to their greater confuſion & terrour. They perſiſted (in their opinion) & as it were with one voice oppoſſed it: ſo as in the end (Sr *Francis Vere*) was moved to ſaie, that all the world could not make him to change his opinion: His Excie was pleaſed to like of it, reſolving not to paſſe any further towards the Ennemy, & for the ordering of things repoſed ſo much truſt in Sr *Francis Vere*, that he beleeued they should be well done, without viewing the places, or examining the reaſon of his doings. But his Excie rerurned to giue order, & diſpoſe of the reſt of the Armie, which as the water ebbed, his Excie enlarged to the Seawards, next the which the Horſemē were placed, & ſixe peeces of Ordinance advanced, planted in the head of the *Avantgard*, having the advantage both of the winde, & the Sunne on our ſide, & gaue order to Monſ *Warmont*, & Monſ. *Duvenvord*, that they from our men of warr, should giue fire with their Ordnance vpon the Ennemies *Battallions*, that ſtood vpon the ſtrand. In this order wee ſtayed, & the Ennemie

(though ſtil in our ſight) moved not forwards for the ſpace of two howers, & then (rather turning from vs thē advancing) they croſſed the *Downes*, & reſted there two howers at the foote of the Iland, which confirmed their opinions, that he would lodge there. But wee found reaſons to the contrarie out of their proceedings to keepe vs from wavering: for it was probable, that the Ennemie was harryed out, & tyred with that nights march & daies travell. And ſeing wee were paſſed the Haven of *Nieuport* (to haue hindred, or prevented vs, was the greateſt cauſe of his haſt) whilſt alſo he ſaw vs ſtirring, & ordering our troupes he might hope, that wee that were freſh, now paſſed & engaged in fight, would advance the rather, to haue the helpe of our troupes which were with *Count Erneſt*, if perchance he were retyred to *Oſtend*, towards which the neerer wee were to fight to that place, it might be of more advantage vnto vs, or elſe if wee had heard of their defeate, then wee might be drawne on to revenge. But when he ſawe that wee ſtood & held our place, not moving out of the hope, that they were not provided to make any longe ſtaye, for the reaſons before mentioned, & might reſolue to refresh themſelues a litle & then to advance towards vs: ſeing that ſide was for that purpoſe more advantagious, then the bare ſea ſands & withal wee conſidered, that they made a halt to reſt their footemen (which were all ould exerciſed Souldiers, & to that daye vnfoiled in the feild) they would attend rather the growing of the tyde, which was then at the loweſt ebb, that the ſcopes of the ſand might be leſſe ſpacions & ſeruiſable for Horſemen. Now about halfe floude, they croſſed the Downes againe to the ſeaſands, & marched forwards, ſending ſome light horſemen farre before the troups to diſcover, one of which (as wee ſuppoſed) ſuffred himſelfe to be takē, who brought newes to his Exᶜⁱᵉ, & tould him alone that *Count Erneſt* was defeated, and that he would preſently giue him battaile, augmenting the number, braverie, & reſolutiōs of their mē. The loſſe of our men being vnderſtood before, wee were carefull to haue few preſent at the hearing of this priſoners report, whoſe mouth being ſtopped by the Princes order, not with ſtāding they hearing it bewrayed it, both in word & countenāce to the ſouldiers

The Ennemie advancing neerer, & neerer their Horſemen came in the head of their trouppes in a compitent diſtance, to haue bene drawne to a fight, Sr *Francis Vere* would willingly haue advanced the Horſemen of our *Vantgard* neere vnto them, & with ſome choiſe & well mounted men, haue beaten in their *Carabines* & shitmishers to their groſſe, with purpoſe if they had bene over charged againe to haue retyred in haſt, with a ſett *Avantgard* of Horſe, betwixt the ſea & the *Vauntgard* of foote, & having drawne them from their foote vnder the mercy of our Ordinācе would haue engaged the reſt of our horſe, to haue charged, & followed them reſolutely. This adviſe liked not to the young noblemen who was not well pleaſed with the power, which his Exᶜⁱᵉ had giuen to Sr *Francis Vere* over this charge, & therefore was not by him putt in execution, who chooſe rather as the Ennemie advanced leiſurely: to retreate likewiſe towards our foote. This councill of his takeing noe better effect, & the Horſemen nowe comming within the reach of our Cannon, Sr *Francis Vere* made the motion to haue them diſcharged, which was liked, & ſo well ſpent, that wee made thē ſcatter their troupes, in ſomediſorder, & fly for ſafety, which had doubtleſſe given vs the victorie, without any more adoe, if our Horſmen had bene ready & willing to haue taken the advantage of this occaſion: Their footemen out of our reach kept on their way alongſt the ſands, & the ſoner to requite vs, advanced their Ordinance a good diſtanee before them, and ſhott roundly at vs, and did ſome hurt. The water now growing very high, wee & they were both forced to ſtrengthen our *Front*, & the Ennemie of purpoſe, as aforeſaid was driuen to fight vpon Sr *Francis Veres* advantage, which he tooke with his foote, in drawing them into the Downes, where all our Horſe ſtood with our *Reere*, herevpon our *Avauntgard* altering order, our *Battaile*, and *Reere* paſſed into the Downes, & in the ſame diſtance backwards, as they had before raunged themſelues vpon the ſand on the left hand, ſo as the front of our three bodies of foote, filled the bredth of the Downes, not in any large front, but in the reere one of another, as the narrowneſſe of the paſſage enforced thē where Sr *Francis Vere* found a fitt place, on the topp of a hill, frō whence the greene waye which lay on the greene ſide of the Downes might be commāded by our Ordnance, vpon the which hill (by his Exᶜⁱᵉˢ order) two demy-Canons were preſently mounted.

The Ennemy drawing very neere, then Sr *Francis Vere* tould the Prince it was nowe time for him to goe to his charge, and asked his Exᶜⁱᵉ, if he would command him any

further ſeruice, he ſaid noe, but to doe as he ſaw cauſe, willing vs the chiefes that ſtood about him, to adviſe him in what part of the Armie he should be perſonnally, whereunto wee all anſwered, that for many reaſons, he was to keepe in the Reere, all which his Excie yeelded to. And ſo Sr *Francis Vere* takeing his leue of the Prince, he went into the head of the *Avantgard*, and after he had viewed the readineſſe, and order of the ſeuerall troupes, the Ennemy now appearing at hand, that he might the better diſcouuer their proceedings, and for the readieſt execution of his commaunds vpon all occaſions Sr *Francis Vere* after he had encouraged his men in abyding the firſt brunte, tooke his place in the topp of the foremoſt hill before mentioned, where he reſolued to attend the iſſue of that daies ſeruice, aſwell for the advantage of the ground he had choſen there to ſtand vpon his defenſe, as alſoo becauſe it was an even ground, where he might ſtirre from place to place (as is vſually and neceſſarily) for the executing, and performing the duty of a Captaine, where the Countrie lying open and plaine, he should not onely haue the ſight of the Ennemie (vpon whoſe motions in ſuch caſes the Councill of execution depend) but alſo the view of his troupes, and they of him, which might haue cauſed many vnreaſonable, and confuſed Commaunds, if it had bene otherwiſe.

The Ennemies *forlorne hope* of *Harquebuſiers*, having gotten vp, to the topp of the hills, and places of moſt advantage on the other ſide of the bottome before mentioned, began to shoote from thence at vs, whilſt our *Avantgard* approched, who now growing neere at hand, fiue hundred *Spaynards* Pikes, and shott mingled without Enſignes, or preciſe order gaue on vpon the place where Sr *Francis Vere* ſtood and very ſtoutly for the ſpace of a great halfe hower, labouring to enter, and force it, but he ſuccoured it with more ſtore of shott from the topps of the hills. The groſſe of their *Avantgard* ſtanding in ſome covert from the shott, which flew from Sr *Francis Veres* troupes on the other ſide of the bottome. In the meane time, the Vauntgard of the Ennemies horſe advanced alonge the greeneway ſo often mentioned, betwixt the hills & the Downes towards our horſe, that ſtood more backwards vpō the flanks of our Battell, whereupon our two peeces of Ordinance were diſcharged from the topp of the hill to good effect, and well ſpent, and when they came neere and thwart our right flank, the 500 Frizons Muskettiers, who (as is ſaid) before were onely deſired to beſtowe their shott that way, did their parts, and ſo gauled the Ennemie vpon the firſt proffer of a charge.

For the Prince ſeing the Ennemies horſe advance, commanded preſently *Count Lodwick* to charge them, namely, with his Excies owne troupe, Prince *Henries* and *Count Lodwijcks*, who being ſeconded by theſe Horſe Captaines *Marcelis Bacx*, *Paul Bacx*, and Monſieur *La Sael* their troupes, (as you maye ſee in the figure) brake the Ennemies horſe, and putt them to a diſorderly retreate. After this the Battell began on all ſides, and the Ordnance from both ſides played furiouſly one vpon an other. The fight from the firſt beginning to the end of the Battaille continewed, not onely in the Downes, but alſo vpon the shirt of the Downes, and in the bottome on the other ſide of them with diverſe charges. And therefore his Excie diuided his men into ſmall troupes and diviſions, that he might bring the more men to fight at a time, and to charge the Ennemie when occaſion offred it ſelfe.

The fight growing hotter & hotter Sr *Francis Vere* giving two Regiments of *Spaynards* their bellie fulls, namely *Don Lewes de Villars*, and *Don Ieronimos de Monroy*, beating their Muskettiers to a retreat. The Ennemie ſeing that advanced both his *Battell* and his *Reere*, to bring them likewiſe to fight. His Excie perceiving our men thus engaged in the fight, cauſed alſo our Battell to advance, & gaue order to *Count George Everard of Solmes*, to lead it on, who with three *French* diviſions of Muskettiers charged two Regiments of Spaynards and Italians. The French Officers that led them on were theſe Captaine *Du Puy*, Captaine *Du Bruil*, Monſieur *La Noue* his Lieutenant, Captaine *Pommaride*, Monſieur *Dommerville* his Lieutenant, Capt. *Vander Burch*, Monſieur *Du Forts* Lieutenant. The moſt of theſe came to handie blowes in the Downes, being the firſt charge which the French made.

After this firſt charge of the Battell, theſe Horſe Captaines, alſo namely *Contelier*, *Peter Panny*, *and Battenburch* charged the Ennemies Foote, the Prince ſending Count *Lodwijck* with ſixe troupes of Curaſſiers to ſecond them, being accompained with Count *Fredaryck*

rijck of Solmes. His Excie gaue order againe that Count *George Edward of Solmes* should giue a ſecond charge with the French, who had the *Avantgard* of our Battell, who were diuided into two troupes, that on the right hand, was led on by Monſieur *Dommerville* Lieutenant Coronell, and that on the left hand by Captaine Sau. This was the ſecond charge the French made, who fought with a Battaillion of the Ennemies Pikes, conſiſting of two Regiments, the one was a Spanish Regiment commaunded by Don *Alphonzo d'Avalos*, the other an Italian couducted by *Iaſper Sapena Maeſtro del Campo.*

Count *George Everard of Solmes* retyring with theſe French, was once more commaunded by the Prince to leade on Prince *Henry* of *Naſſaw* his brothers the *Wallons* Regiment, called the new *Geux*, commaunded then by his Lieutenant Coronell Monſieur *Markett*, the *Swiſſer* Regiment alſo commaunded by *Hans Krick* went on with them, and fought ſtoutly doeing good ſeruice. Theſe two Regiments encountred, and fought againſt *Burlotte*, & the Count *de Bucquoy*, who commaunded the Ennemies *Reere guard*, which conſiſted of three *Walloon* Regiments, and ſome Irish Companies. His Excie likewiſe commaunded Monſieur *de Giſtelles*, being of our *Arreregard* to goe on with his Regiment, as alſo the Regiments of Coronell *Huchtenbrooke*, & that of Count *Erneſt*, commaunded by Monſi ur *Huyſman* his Lieutenant Coronell with theſe fiue Regiments, Count *George Everard Solmes* charged the Ennemie as aboue ſaid. This fight laſted about three howers longe, the Victorie being doubtfull on both ſides, ſometimes the on ſide winning, and otherwhiles the other ſide looſing ground. The Princes Horſe in charging the Ennemie putt them often to the worſt of it, & our horſe had continuall the advantage vpon them, driving ſome of them to a retreate as farr as *Nieuport*. The Ennemies foote fought with more advantage vpon the Downes then ours, & made the Princes men to quit on downe after an other: ſo that our Ordinance was in hazard of looſing.

To returne againe to our *Avantgard*, Sr *Francis Vere* gaue order that a hundred men should be ſent frō the foremoſt troupes, which he had layd (as is aforeſaid) in the Downes, to haue giuen on vpon the left flanke of the Ennemie, if they had attempted to paſſe by vs on the Sand, and as covertly as they could to approch and fall on, vpon the right flanke of thoſe that were in fight with him, when they were come vp, and at hand neere the Ennemie, he ſent ſecretly by the hills (where there was a hollow diſcent) ſome ſixty men more to charge them in their front, which amazed the Ennemie much, and made them run away, our men following them charged and killed them, till they had paſſed the bottome, and came to their groſſe, from which they disbandied 500 *Spaynards* more (the like number as before) who followed our men, and ſeized vpon ſome heights that were in the bottome ſome what neere vnto vs. Their Pikes ſtanding vnder the ſhaddow of the hills, they played with their shott from the topp of them vpon our disbanded and skirmishing men. Sr *Francis Vere* to driue them from thence, being loath they should gaine ground vpon him, ſent more men out of the ſame by-waies, from whence he had drawne the firſt before mentioned, giuing then onely this order, to make good that place. This was a bloodie morſell, which wee ſtroue for: For whileſt our men, and theirs were not covered with the hanging of the hills, as they advanced, or wee chaſed, ſo they lay open to the shott, not onely of thoſe that were poſſeſſed of thoſe litle Hills, but of the higher alſo who powred in a great tempeſt of shott amongſt thē: ſo as theſe Souldiers which Sr *Francis Vere* had ſent, haſted for their ſafety to get the heath ſide of the hills. The Ennemie alſo for the like reaſon abode their comming with the like reſolution, and ſo in a moment as the hills were rounde and mountable, our men can to handie blowes vpon the whole *demy Circle* of them, with much ſlaughter on both ſides: but in the end the Ennemie was forced to retire. In the meane while, the Ennemies Battaile of foote were come vp to the *groſſe* of their *Avantgard*, which as it had taken the right hand of the Downes, ſo the battaile with ſome diſtances betwixt them (though in an euen front) having bene well gauld and beaten with our shott, from the topp of the hills, ſtood all in good covert as the place would afford, frō whome they ſent freſh men to beate ours from thoſe grounds of advantage in the bottome. As our men began to giue back Sr *Francis Vere* ſent new ſupplies to make good that place in the bottome: ſometimes getting otherwiles looſing

of ground. The fight was ſtill mainteyned with fresh ſupplies on both ſides, ſo that *Sr Francis Vere* perceiued (though with the loſſe of men) yet with this advantage of ground he did not onely beate vpon the *groſſe* of the Ennemie, but alſo gaue fire vpon their looſe fighting men, which made the loſſe farre greater on the Ennemies ſide, his maine deſſigne being ſo, as to engage their whole force vpon his handfull of men, made him employ his men ſparingly, and by peece meale of purpoſe, to ſpend and waſt the Ennemie (that they should not be able to abide the ſight of our other troupes) when they advanced (as is ſaid) the Horſemen of the Ennemies *Battaile*, and ours encountred together, but ſomewhat more advanced towards the Ennemie. Our men having comfort with the firſt ſucceſſe our *Frizon* Muskettiers before mentioned, could not ſo well fauour our men, but our Horſemē being putt to a retreate, the Ennemie perſuing them, yet were ſo ſaluted by our men that they were driven back. The Ennemies *Reerward* now coming vp, with the two other boddies (for ſo Sr *Francis Vere* termed them, becauſe their coullours remayned together) moſt of their men being drawne from them and engaged in fight, they attending their Enſignes, advanced boldly on the left hand of their *Battaile*, and ſpreading the bredth of the Downes, they ſtood as it were to Sr *Francis Vere* his troupes, rather on the corner of his right flanke, then a Front, and ſo fronted directly vpon his Excies *Battaile* & *Arreregard*, ſome Muskett shott behinde Sr *Francis Veres* troupes, towards which it ſeemed they intended to advance firſt, wee gaue fire to them, as much as wee could from the hills: but when they began to open vpon the *Frizon* Muskettiers, who (as is ſaid before) were onely to beſtow their shott on our right ſide, & till that time had done noe ſeruice, but againſt their horſe, the *Frizons* gauled the Ennemie exceedingly, which made thē ſtopp ſuddenly as amazed or a shamed to giue back, ſeing none to chaze them in a bottome of ſo ſmall a *covert*. Herevpon they ſent out ſome *shirmushers* alongſt the Southermoſt parts of the Downes: Againſt which alſo ſome looſe men were ſent from our other bodies: but our Muskettiers, which gave fire vpon them ſtanding, & shott without feare from their reſts gauled them moſt of all. The Horſemen of the *Reeregards* on both ſides shewed themſelves, and ſome bickering was betwixt them, but the Ennemies Horſe retyred out of the footemens reach. This was a ſtrange, and an vnuſuall fight: For whereas commonly in a *Battaile* the ſucceſſe of the foote depended moſt on that of the Horſe: Here it was cleane contrarie, for ſo long as the foote held the place good, the Horſe could not be beaten out of the feild (though as it fell out) they might be chazed to them.

All this while the fight without intermiſſion continued hoter and hoter, betwixt the other two troupes of the Ennemie, and Sr *Francis Vere* his men, each ſending fresh ſupplies, as occaſion required to maintaine the fight, ſo that now the whole troupes of the English came to handie blowes in the aforeſaid bottome, ſaving ſome few that were placed on the hills, & on the Ennemies ſide few were idle. Now was the time which Sr *Francis Vere* ſaw, to giue the Ennemie a deadly blowe his *groſſe* being disbandied, aſwell in occupying places of the heath, as takeing advantages to annoy vs, by thoſe that were ſent to diſpute the places in queſtion, for their onely ſtrength conſiſted in their looſe men, which a few Horſe charging on a ſudden in the bottome, would then haue putt them to flight, and being followed *pellmell* with our foote, they could neuer haue bin relieued, nor gathered themſelues together againe. On the other ſide, Sr *Francis Vere* knew well (without further ſuccour) their numbers would wearie, and eate out his men in the end. And therefore at once he ſent to the *Frizon* Footemen, that were of the *Avantgard* to advance, and withall to his Excie to give him to vnderſtand how things ſtood, deſiring to ſend him part of the Horſe of the Battell to ſecond him. And ſeing the Ennemie preſſed & gayned ground vpon his men, he ſent againe meſſenger vpō meſſenger (for men & none coming he imputeth it to the ſlackneſſe & neglect of the meſſengers.) In the Interim to giue his mē the more encouragement, he went himſelfe into the bottome amongſt them, where ryding vp & Downe, he did in their eyes, and with much adoe entertained fight with thē though the Ennemie encroached and gott ground vpon him. At his firſt comming into the bottome he was shott through his legge, and a quarter of an hower after, he gott an other shott through the thigh of the ſame legge, which he neuer complained of, nor ſo much as thought vpon a *Chirurgian*, for he knew if he left that place his men would in-

inſtantly quaile, he therefore choſe rather (not being uſed to have his troopes foiled) to try the vtmoſt thereof, and not to ſhew his men the way to fly, keeping ſtill for the comming of the Frizons, and the horſe which he had ſent for to ſecond him, but not comming ſo ſoone as he expected, his men being overcharged with numbers, forſooke the place, and gave ground, notwithſtanding he ſtill gave them incouragement, and did his beſt endeavour to make them ſtand, they haſting along the ſands to our Canon, the enemy following them hard at the heeles, being thus driven to retreate, he was forced though unwillingly (God knowes) to come off eaſily, and bring off the laſt of his men, and as hee went off, his horſe being ſhot, fell dead upon him; having no officers, gentlemen, or ſervants to helpe him: but by good hap, Sir *Robert Drury*, Sir *Iohn Ogle*, and a ſervant of Sir *Robert Druries* called *Higham*, drew him from under his horſe, ſet him up behinde his Maſters, which helpe came very ſeaſonable to him; ſeeing when hee fell the enemie was ſo nigh at hand, & ſo by this means it pleaſed God to ſave him out of their hands. After this Sir *Francis Vere* began to take care for himſelfe, who having a little before received two wounds, one through his thigh, and another through his leg, and having been undreſſed during the fight, had his blood leaking from him out of foure holes, as alſo hee had a dangerous diſeaſe which had held him long, made him ſo extreame weake and faint, that he was carried off, and could doe no more for that preſent.

And comming neere the ordnance, he found my Lord Sir *Horace Vere* his brother, who upon this retreate, had gathered up ſome three hundred foote, cauſed them to ſtand, and drawing them aſide, from before the mouths of our two halfe Canon, planted upon a downe, which were charged with muſquet bullets; my Lord Sir *Horace Vere* commanded the Canoniers to give fire upon the enemy (who were ready to lay hands upon our Canon) which being diſcharged in the midſt of them, and ſo neere together with a traine of ſome barrells ſtrowne in the ſand, which was alſo fired, made a great ſlaughter and lane among the enemies horſe and foote.

A while after, my Lord Sir *Horace Vere*, had reallied theſe three hundred men above ſaid, his Excellency Prince *Maurice*, ſent two Cornets of horſe unto him, namely Captaine *Balls*, and Sir *Francis Vere* his owne troope, commanded by Captaine *Pembrooke*, with theſe horſe and foote my Lord Sir *Horace Vere* gave a freſh charge upon the enemies troopes, and with great wiſdome, and courage beare them backe to a retreate, inſomuch, that they never turned their faces any more: after this brave charge, ſome others of our horſe and foote fell on, and followed them cloſe at the heeles upon execution: their great Phalanges and Battaillions which guarded their Enſignes, began then to ſtartle, and rouze up themſelves, rather for their owne defence, then to revenge their fellowes: upon their retreate our men ſeeing this, who had kept their places from the beginning upon the top of the hills, powred whole volleyes of ſhot upon them, and our Engliſh officers and ſouldiers on all hands tooke recollected freſh courage, and came up to the fight againe, and preſſing hard upon them, made them give backe; which his Excellency (ſeeing now that the victory enclining on our ſide) cauſed the battell to advance, and his horſemen to charge upon the enemies horſemen; ſo that upon this ſight the enemy without attending any more blows, turned their faces, and our horſe & foot falling in pell mell among them, they were routed and beaten out of the field, and followed the execution hard, even as farre as the moriſh grounds to the Damne, ſlaying many of them, and taking a great number of priſoners; among the reſt in my Lord Sir *Horace Veres* firſt charge, Captaine *Ball* who fell on with him tooke *Don Iaſper Sapen*: priſoner, and one of my Lord Generall *Veres* troope, tooke *Don Lewes de Villars Maeſtro del Campo*, or Colonell, priſoner; the battell was above three houres before this laſt charge in diſputing, with the effuſion of much bloud ſhed on both ſides, ſometimes the one, and otherwhiles the other ſide, gaining or loſing ground one of another: The Arch Duke himſelfe eſcaped very narrowly, for a ſouldier got hold upon the bit of his horſe, which made him ſpurre forward and ſo he got off, loſing in this battell, aſwell ſlaine, as taken priſoners the moſt part of the chiefe Captaines and Officers of his army, and the principall Lords, Nobles, and ſervants of his Court were taken priſoners, namely *Don Franciſco de Mendoza*, his Lieutenant Generall Lord Admirall of Arra-

ragon,

ragon, Count *Solmes* on his ſide, *Don Iaſpar Sapena*, and *Don Lewes de Villars* above mentioned, both Coronells, *Don Lewes D'Aville*, *Don Pedro de Mendoza* Colonels of horſe, Regiments, Count *Charles Reſin* his highneſſe page, Doctor *Andrea* his highneſſe Phyſitian, *Don Iaſpar Maragon* Colonell, and five and thirty horſe and foote Captaines, beſides divers Lieutenants, Alferuſes, or Enſigne bearers, *Dons* and *Willeroes* with other men of note and quality, to the number of three hundred and nine. Likewiſe we tooke eight peeces of Ordnance from them, and regained our owne two peeces, which were loſt in the morning, when the Scotch Regiment was overthrown, & got moſt of their Ammunition, baggage and the furniture belonging to the Archdukes tents, bed tent, his cabinet, his plate, his ſeals of Armes, and a hundred and ſixe colours, with the Burgonian croſſe, beſides divers Cornets of horſe. There were ſlaine on the Archdukes ſide that day, dead upon the place about five thouſand, beſides others that were ſlaine upon the purſuit of the execution over the mooriſh grounds to the Damme and Bridges, and others which died & fainted upon their flight by the way ſide of their wounds and hurts; but the greateſt blow fell upon the Spainards and Italians, who ventred moſt, and paid the deareſt for it; becauſe they were fleſhed with the morning victory, when as they got betweene our army and Oſtend, which was our onely retreate as is above ſaid. On our ſide, with thoſe which were overthrowne in the morning we had ſlaine that day, betweene two and three thouſand, and the greateſt loſſe of men fell upon our Engliſh, who bore the brunt of the day having had above 800. of them ſlaine and ſome hurt, becauſe they had ſo courageouſly received and withſtood ſo many brave charges of the enemies horſe and foote: Among which, ſeven worthy Engliſh Captaines were ſlaine upon the place, where the battell was fought, namely Captaine *Taxely*, Captaine *Huniewood*, Captaine *Tyrrill*, Captaine *Duxborrow*, Captaine *Pirton*, Captaine *Woodward*, and Sir *Francis Vere* himſelfe, and the moſt part of our Engliſh Captaines (but two) were hurt, and many inferiour officers, as Lieutenants, Enſignes, and Sergeants, either ſlaine or hurt. There were in this fight alſo three of our horſe Captaines ſlaine, three French Captaines; a Walloon Captaine, a Dutch Captaine; beſides divers Lieutenants, Enſignes, and Sergeants of other nations.

Night drawing on, after our officers and ſouldiers had repoſed their wearied bodies, and our hurt and wounded men were dreſſed, and taken care for, to be carried off, and that thoſe ſouldiers that were living that had wet their cloaths in paſſing the haven of Newport in the morning, had got freſh Spaniſh and Italian cloaths to put on (as Sir *Francis Vere* told them,) and abundance of priſoners pillage and boot, his Excellency marched with his victorious army to the Church of Weſtend, where he quartered that night, and gave thanks to God for this victory, and inviting many Spaniſh Dons, the Admirall of Arragon and ſome others of their commanders, being at ſupper, becauſe the Spaniards oftentimes had bragged, that our men were better ſpade-men, then ſword-men, but durſt never fight a battell; Prince *Maurice* our generall asked the admirall & ſome of the Spaniſh Dons that ſate at his table, what they thought of our ſpade-men and freſhwater ſouldiers, and whether they had not carried themſelves valiant in this daies action, and had now found them to bee as good ſword-men as ſpade-men. Hereat the Admirall of Arragon and ſome of the Dons ſmiled: But the Admirall with a grave and a wiſe ſpeech which came from him anſwered, and complained much, that their owne horſe had not done their beſt endeavours, but plaied the jades, when their men were ingaged in fight among our troopes, which if they had done, they might have ſeconded and ſuccoured their foote, which divers times fell on bravely, and ſo might have become maſter of the field, and have taken theſe two peeces of Canon above ſaid, commending highly his Excellency, that he was ſo frugall in ordering his men into ſmall diviſions and battaillions, which moved with great agility, and could ſooner ſpie out an advantage to come up to a charge, then their great Phalanges, ſtands of pikes, and unweeldy bodies, and that Prince *Maurice* of bleſſed memory had mannaged and husbanded the lives of his men by this meanes ſo ſparingly, which broak them, made ſuch a confuſion among them, and next under God was the cauſe of their overthrow.

Soli Deo Gloria.

Preamble to Sr *Francis Veres* Parley in Ostend, Anno 1601.

AMongst the rest of Sr *Francis Vere* his braue actions, this Parley was of *Eminent* note and as it was most noted; so was it most and worst censured, aswel by *Sword*, as by *Gowne* men; yea his Iudgment (which euen of his Ennemies hath often bene confessed to be one of the most able, that ever our nation delivered to the world in matters of his profession) was in this action taxed (and that in private too) for his manner of the carriage of this buy finesse.

Therefore it will not be amisse for the loue of truth, & his memorie, to wipe away two maine Aspersions, which was layd vpon him by the way of an obiection, and which were aswell in everie mans mouth, as in *Emanuell de Meter* his booke.

The first (and that is the worlds) that it lucked well, iudging the fact by the event; but reseruedly, condemning the purpose: for had not the shipping come (say they) as they did, that wee should haue seene, what would haue become of the Towne, for in all probility he would haue giuen it vp.

The answere to the first aspersion, Sr *Iohn Ogle*, being the onely Instrument, which Sir *Francis Vere* employed in the mannaging hereof (being intimate with him) and one who was best acquainted with all his dessignes, cleared not onely this imputatiō by commaund from the Lords the States Generall in their Conucill chamber: but also to his Excie Prince *Maurice of Nassaw* himself (of famous memorie) and to his Cousin *Count William of Nassaw Lord Marshall* of the Feild, & Gouvernour of *Frizeland* his Cosin, concerning this matter. Moreover, Colonell *Vtenhoven* a braue man of note, one of their owne natiō, which was then in *Ostend*, and afterward made Gouvernour of *Emrick* knew better, that Sr *Francis Vere* had not the least thought of rendring vp the Towne, though succour had failed and not come vnto him at all, his *Stratagem* being onely to gaine time, for the repairing of our Canon & Sea-beaten decayed workes.

The second aspersion, or obiection (saith *Meter*) was, that he might haue carryed it otherwise, & haue drawne lesse iealousie vpō himself, by acquainting the *Captaines* sooner therewith, considering it was done without the priuity of the Lords the States, neither was it fitting to bring an Ennemie through such secret passages. See *Emanuel de Meter* lib. 22. fol. 52.

The second answere. This (at the first view) seemes to say some thing, as borrowing strength from the common order, and proceedings in other ordinarie Governours, who vpon the points, aswell of parley, as capitulation, ere they enter into a parley with an Ennemie, they consult first (as is fit) with the Captaines of their Garrison, and this it seemes was likewise expected here, but vpon what reason? was he an ordinarie Gouvernour, noe he was a *Generall*, he had Gouvernours vnder him, did he intend (as commonly others doe) to deliver vp the Towne, surely he meant noe such thing, what account did euer the States require of him? what disgrace did he receiue? had he not a free acknowledgement giuen him of his vndaunted courage, wisedome, and iudgement in the carriage of a buysinesse of so great importance?

True it is, there was at the first a kinde of staggering even amongst the best, which the mist of partiall information cast vpon him from some *Malevolent* persons in *Ostend*, but this was soone cleared, first by his owne letters in brief, and afterward by Sr *Iohn Ogle* at Large, if not to the most of them, yet to the most discrete, and Indicious amonge them.

But lett vs now see whither it had bin, either necessarie, or conuenient that the secret of this *Stratagem* should haue bene revealed sooner, either preposterously to the Lords the States, or dangerously to the Captaines, being repugnant to sence & common reason, and that for these reasons following.

The proiect it selfe was but an *Embryon*, and had bin meerely abortif, had he delivered himselfe of it, before the Ennemies attempt, for from thence it must receiue both growth force, and being. Now that was vncertainely vnknowne to him, especially the time,

he could therefore haue noe certaine befitting subiect, to write to the Lords the States of this matter, till the deede was done, and the proiect putt in practize, which so soone as it was, he presently dispatched a messenger to the Lords the States Generall, giving them a due account of the course of his proceedings, and that to their contentment.

Secondly, it was a *Stratagem*, whose power, and vertue consisted wholly in secrecie, it was a thred spunne, whereō their hung noe lesse then the States towne, his owne honour and the liues of all those, that were with him, and therefore in reason, it did not admit of the least communication, for the best *pledge* you can haue of a mans *secrecie*, is not to reveale or open ones minde & thought vnto him.

Thirdly, and lastly, If he should haue forgotten himselfe so much, as to haue committed a *secret* to the trust of many, could he yet promesse himselfe, that he should not haue mett with *opposition*, would they be instantly all of his minde? would noe man *suspect* the handling? why did they then afterwards, and that when it was *consumate* & finished.

Coronell *Vtenhoven* (said once vnto Sr *Iohn Ogle*) that if the Generall had made his *proposition* knowne, he had broken his *dessigne*, and he knew best the Captaines inclinations, for he was the mouth betwixt the Generall, and them to cleare those *iealousies*, he saw their *apprehension* of him, therefore it was the safest and best waye, that could be taken, to set his buysinesse abroach, rather without their knowledge, then flately against it, and to hazard the *interpretation* of the *action*, rather then the action it selfe.

Besides this, those that knew *Generall Vere*, knew him not so simple, and weake as to avoyd *millitarie formes*, where they were necessairie, or expedient, wanted he iudgment, his Ennemies will not say it? Had he not will? he had to many of them toogreat, to lay open himself to their *malice*, he was a better mannager of his *reputation*, then to giue so palpable, so grosse advantage to build their *scandals* vpon. It was the publique seruice, & his owne Iudgment, that led him into this course, if there were any danger for his part, it lay on Sr *Iohn Ogles* head, which ventred for the safety of all.

It seemes then as it was not necessary, so had it bene exceeding inconvenient, that the booke of this secret should have bin vnclasped sooner, either to the *Captaines*, before it was sett on foote, or to the Lords the States before it was accomplished, and thus much shall serue as an introduction before we come to the relation it self.

A TRVE RELATION OF Sr *FRANCIS VERE* HIS PARLEY IN OSTEND, and the bloodie Assault the ARCHDVKE ALBERT gave vpon *Ostend*, on the 7th of Ianuary 1602. STILO NOVO.

PRINCE MAVRICE of blessed memorie (after the Battaile of *Nieuport* before mentioned) being satt downe, and engaged at the Seige of *Rhyne-Berke*, the *States Generall*, having bene advertized from *Monsieur vander Noot* their Gouernour of *Ostend*, a strong maritimate Towne, lying vpon the Sea-coast in *Emperiall Flanders*, some three English miles from *Nieuport*, that the *Archdvke Albert* was come with his Armie to beseige it, keept Sr *Francis Vere* as a reserue at home, to see what the Ennemy wold attempt: vpon this *intelligence* the States gaue him a large commission, & made him Generall of their forces within and without *Ostend*, to be employed in that seruice, and sent him awaye from his house at *Rysewick* with all *expedition*. His Excie *Prince Maurice* hearing this, that the Ennemie was satt downe before *Ostend*, sent presently to Sr *Francis Vere* 12 English Companies from the seige of *Rhyn-Berke*, where of one of thē was his owne Companie, the braueſt that euer my eyes beheld, which might haue bene a guard to the greateſt *Emperour* vnder the Cope of Heauen. These Companies Sr *Francis Vere* mett with at *Flushing*, where he being embarqued in a man of warre that lay ready for him, on the 14th of Iuly 1601. having a prosperous winde, not withstanding the Ennemy had planted many peeces of *Ordinance*, and shott furiously to hinder our comming in, yet it pleased God at the breake of day with long bootes, and sloopes, he disembarqued his men, and with the losse of some foure or fiue men hurt and slaine gott safely into *Ostend*. On the 15th of Iuly in the morning, shortly after followed Coronell *Huchtenbrooke* with seuen Companies of Dutches & some others to the number of foure and thirty companies in all, and on the 24th of Iuly *Queene Elizabeth* of euer blessed memorie, sent him into *Ostend* 1500 new English Souldiers called *Red coats* & *Blew coates*, who were diuided vnder the 12 old English Companies, which came in with Sr *Francis Vere*, to renforce them: but within three weeks, or a month after, the most part of these new English were slaine, & hurt vpon seuerall peeces of seruice, & growne so weake & thinne that one could scarcely see a cassack of them.

The next day after *Generall Vere* was arrived, to hinder the Ennemies approches, he went to view, and possesse himselfe of seuerall advantagious peeces of ground, amonge the rest, he cast vp a *square-worke*, afterwards called the *Coronels worke*, and from thence ran a line a good way towards the Southwest, casting vp diverse *Redoubts*, and small workes planting therein some small peeces, which played and shott into the Ennemies trenches vpon their backs, these were morsels, aswell for the Beseigers tooth, as his, and therefore cost sound knocks, and much blood on both sides, till at last being overlayd with numbers, Ordinance, and better commodity of accesse, he was forced to quite the most of them, ere he brought them to *perfection* of strength, to make resistance, saving the *Coronels worke*, two other *quarries* and some few other litle workes, which laye neereſt the Towne, and vnder the commaund of our Ordinance, which workes were brauely mainteyned, and which gauled, & hindred the Ennemie much in advancing his *approaches*, & made them gaine their ground as it were by *Inchmeale*: the Ennemie many times attempting them, but could neuer carry them, being beaten of with the losse of fiue hundred

men at a time. I will onely by the waye of *diverſion* make mention of one tirrible aſſault which the Ennemie made vpon the Coronels worke on the fourth of December in the morning, about the break of the day, at which time the Ennemy gaue a great attempt vpon that worke, and ſtroue by all poſſible meanes to enter it: Sr *Francis Vere* having bene abroad, the moſt part of that night, being layd downe to take his reſt hearing the *alarme*, and knowing how much the loſſe of that worke did import the defence of the Towne. pulling on his ſtockings with his Sword in his hand ran in all haſt vnbraced with ſome Souldiers & Captaine Couldwell, and my ſelfe into the worke, where he found his owne Companie at push of the Pike, vpō a turne Pike with the Ennemie, who cryed in French, entrez, entrez, advancez, advancez, ſtroue to enter that way and ſought to overturne the turne Pike with their Pikes, found ſome of his Gentlemen (among the reſt Lieutenant Coronell Proud) who was ſlaine at *Maſtrich* (a ſlashing of the heads of their Pikes) of which he tooke notice of, & shortly after made him a Lieutenant, the Ennemy being repulſed, and beaten of Sr *Francis Vere*, to thend our men might giue fire the better vpon them from the Towne and Bulwarkes, which flancked this worke both with our Ordinance and ſmall shott, commaunded the Souldiers to take ſome ſtraw from of the hutts, within the worke, and makeing wiſpes of it, ſett it on fire vpon the parrapet of the worke, and vpon the heads of their Pikes, by which light wee diſcouered the Ennemie, ſo that our men gaue fire brauely vpon them from the Towne and the worke, and shott into their *B*attailions that had falne on, & there men that were a carrying of their dead, ſo that vpon this attempt the Ennemie loſt a matter of ſome 500 men, which laye vnder our worke, & betweene their trenches, the Ennemy being retreated into his workes, Sr *Francis Vere* called me to him, and ſaid Boy come now pull vp my ſtockings, and tye my points and ſo returned home againe to his reſt.

A while after Generall *Vere* came into the Towne, with the Garniſon that was in it before, and the Companies, which were ſent to him by the Prince from the Armie, together with the ſupplies he had gott out of England, he was about ſeuē thouſand ſtronge. Now was a time of action to make a Souldier: for lightly every two or three dayes, either the Ennemie fell on vpon our workes, or wee ſallyed out vpon theirs, and noe warlike Stratagems that the Policie of man could invent to bring men to their ends, but was practized for the gayning, or defending of the Towne, the Ennemy having planted vpon the Downes, their Catteys & pile Batteries aboue 50 great peeces of Ordinance, moſt of thē Canon and halfe Canon, which thundred night & daye into the Towne vpon vs, ſo that one Bullet shott once into the ſtreet at a time, ſlew 15 men, beſides whipping of here a legg, and there an arme of others that were hurt, shooting alſo firie Bullets glowing hott to fire our howſes, and our Ryſeworkes, and ſometimes shott flights of Arrowes into the Towne, & our out workes, with letters bound about the heads of them, to entice our Souldiers to runne away from vs to them, beſides, they shott out of their Morters huge *Granadoes* of ſome 70 or 80 pounds weight, & ſtones out of them, that weighed at leaſt 100 pounds, inſomuch that many houſes were shott downe flatt to the ground, which conſtrained vs to make *Barracadoes* in our sheetes for the ſafegard of our men, and to quarter them (as it were in conniborrowes) vnder the inſide of the curtaines and Bulwarkes of the Towne, and the moſt part of the Inhabitants lay in Cellers, for their more ſecurity, and to hinder our shipping from comming into the Towne with proviſſions, they made Batteries both on the *W*eſt, and Eaſt ſide, within leſſe then halfe Musket shott of the old & new havens, ſo that our shipping were forced to enter the Gullet betweene the mouthes of ten or twelue whole Cannon and halfe, which played continually vpon them from their pile Batteries, and the foote of the Downes, and likewiſe on the Eaſt ſide and invented alſo a ſtraung Engine of warre, like a *Ramme* with a Batterie vpon it as in old times, which ran vpon wheeles, to ſtop and damme vp our new haven, which was shott in peeces with our Cannon. *W*ee had alſo ſome 30 peeces of Ordinance, Canon halfe Canon and other good feild peeces within the Towne, which played continually vpon the Ennemies Batteries, trenches, and approches, and shott alſo many glowing Bullets, and *Granadoes*, to annoy them, paying them with their owne Coine. This

This great number of men which came in with Generall *Vere* (beſides two thouſand more, which were the ſecond time ſent out of England to ſupplie the English Cõpanies) were in December following ſo weaked, & conſumed vpon continuall ſeruices, by their Sword & Bullet, that when the Parley began of 7000 men, there were ſcarcely left aliue not aboue 8 or 9 hundred able fighting men, to defend the out-workes, and the Towne it ſelf. For as Sr *Iohn Ogle* truely ſaith, about the 12th of November it began to Frieze exceedingly, the winde keeping Northweſt, where it remained til Chrimaſſe, or after, blowing for the moſt part a ſtiff gale, often high and ſtormie. In which time noe ſhipping could come vnto vs, noe ſuccour out of *Holland*, or *Zealand*, nor could they for the winde, neither had wee any for ſome few weekes after. Our men, Munition, & Matterials waſted daylie, the Sea and our Ennemy grew both vpon vs. Every ſpring tide, wee looked ſtill, when that would decide the queſtion betweene vs, & our Ennemies, ſo exceeding high it was, and ſwelling through the continuance of that Northweſt winde, which beate flatt vpon vs, and brought extraordinarie ſtore of waters from the *Ocean*, to thoſe narrow parts wee could ſett very fewe men to worke, our places of guards were ſo manie, our numbers ſo ſmall, & thoſe ouerwatched: the convenient competencie for garding that Towne & outworkes tooke vp at leaſt 4000 men. For workemen our neede was more then euer in the old Towne with the new Forts therein, lately begann by the Generall (who foreſaw the ſtorme) laye more then halfe open: inſomuch that in divers places (the Sea & the Ennemies Canon had made ſuch havock, & breaches) that with a litle labour they might haue entred both with horſe and Foote.

The *North-Eaſt Raveline* our champion againſt the Sea, was almoſt worne away. The *Porke eſpike* not well defenſible. At all the places (the Ennemie had approched ſo neere) that they could come to puſh a pike with vs at a low water, when they liſted.

This was our condition, neither was the Ennemie ignorant of it, nor vnmindefull to laye hold on his advantage, preparing all things from all parts fitting for the advancement of his purpoſe, which was to aſſault the Towne. Our Generall ſaw their proviſion and power, his induſtrie ſlept not, his vigilance appeared by his daylie, and nightly Rounds, he made about the Towne, and workes, his courage was then higheſt, when his forces were loweſt, for even then he manifeſted ſo much, that of his ſtore he furniſhed plentie to others.

One daye going about the *Walls*, he began to diſcourſe of our preſent being, praiſed it and ſaid, he cared not what the Ennemie could attempt vpon him, he was in one of the ſtrongeſt parts of the Towne, when he ſpake this, & not vnwilling, that ſuch as of themſelues ſaw it ſhould be kept ignorant of the daunger, that hung ouer our heads. The Captaines and Officers he commended for their care, and vigillancie vpon their watches and guards, more to ſtirr them vp vnto it, then really to congratulate that vertue in them, he told them a Captaine could not receiue a greater blowe in his reputation, then to be ſurprized, diverſe other ſpeeches he vſed tending to encouragement, diſſwading from ſecurity, and often amongſt other diſcourſes enterlaced the ſtrength of the Towne.

Sr *Iohn Ogle* at firſt perceiued not his maske, and began to putt him in minde of ſome of the former perticulars, the old Townes weakeneſſe, and the Archdukes opportunity, but he tould him quickly by his eye, he would not haue the ſtrength touched in ſuch an audience, ſo ſlighting his ſpeech, he continewed his pace and *á la volée* his diſcourſe, till he came to his lodging, where he called Sr *Iohn Ogle* to him alone, and brake his minde vnto him in theſe termes. I perceiue you are not ignorant of our Eſtate, and therefore I wil be the more open, and free with yow, what thinke yow, are wee not in a fine takeing heere, I tell yow Captaine *Ogle*, there was never man of my fortunes, & reputation (both which haue bene cleered hitherto) plunged in a greater extremity, then I am now.

Here wee diſcourſed vpon our Condition mentioned before, whereupon he inferred, that he was like a man, that had both iudgment and courage to defend himſelf, and yet muſt ſitt with his handes bounde, while Boyes and Driuells come, and boxe him about the Eares: yet this I will tell you too, (ſaid hee) rather then the world ſhall ever ſee the name of *Francis Vere* ſubſcribed in the deliverie of a Towne, committed to his cuſtodie, or

his hands, to the leaſt Article of treatie, though with the Archdukes owne perſon, had I a hundred liues, I would firſt burry them all in the rampre: yet in the meane while what iudge yow of the quality of this our being, Sr *Iohn Ogle* tould him, that he thought if he were in his former liberty he would bethinke him well, before he ſuffred himſelfe to be penned vp in ſuch a cage againe, wherevnto Sr *Francis Vere* made noe reply, but addreſſed himſelfe to his buyſineſſe, and Sr *Iohn Ogle* to his in what Sr *Francis Veres* thoughts were he would not enter into, vnleſſe he had had more ſtrength to reach them, but ſure it was, they wanted noe ſtuff to worke on, for the bone he had to knawe vpon, required as good teeth as any were in *Hannibals* head to breake it, and had not his bene ſuch, all the hands wee had there, could not haue plucked it out of our throats.

Not longe after this *Generall Vere* cals a Councill of the Coronels, and chiefe Officers, there he propounded theſe two points, firſt whether with the numbers (formely mentioned) wee could in time of Aſſault ſufficiently furnish all parts, 2. if not, whether in ſuch an extremitie wee ought not to borrow the troupes imployed for the guard of the *quarries* for the preſervation of the Towne.

This was more to ſounde our Iudgments, then of any neceſſity for him to ſeeke allowance of his actions from them: for *Generalls* vſe not to aske leaue of their Captaines, to diſpoſe of their guards, what they shall quitt, and what they shall keepe. To which they anſwered, our numbers they confeſſed were few, yet muſt the *quarries* at noe hand be abandonned: but how to hold them, and ſufficiently provide for thoſe places, where the furie of the ſtorme was likely to power it ſelfe foorth, noe man gaue it expedient. The voices were ſeuerally collected, and comming to Sr *Iohn Ogle*, he ſaid that ſeing our caſe ſtands as it doth, our breaches manie and great, and our numbers few to defend them, his opinion was, that when wee should ſee the cloude comming, that then wee should quit the quarries, knowing well they were ordayned for the Cuſtodie, and not to endanger the loſſe of the Towne, that of two inconveniences the leaſt muſt alwaies be choſen, that it was ill husbandrie to hazard the principall to ſaue the intereſt, and as litle diſcretion to let the fire run on, to burne the pallace, while wee were buſſie in preſerving the lodge. The two Coronels Monſieur Lone, & Sr *Horace Vere* who ſpake after him (for the chiefs ſpake laſt) were of the ſame minde, onely differing in ſome circumſtances, but not in ſubſtance of opinion.

That others of the councill were ſo ſcrupelous in this point as though it proceeded from their ignorance of our eſtate and danger, which was *Looſe the quarries, looſe the Towne*, or it maye be they imagined, what interpretation that the Lords the States would make of ſuch an adviſe, and that feare was likely to be the greater, becauſe perhapps they were not furnished with ſtrength of reaſon, to maintaine the ſame, or elſe found it fitteſt to lay the burthen vpon his shoulders, who was beſt able to beare it even the Generall himſelf.

I will digreſſe from Sr *Iohn Ogles* diſcourſe a litle. On the 21th of December 1601. towards the breake of the day & at a low water, the Archdukes men gaue a furious attempt with ſome 7 or 8 hundred men vpon the old Towne by our new hauen, and cutt the throats of ſome of our men that had the gard hard by it, their falling on for that time being onely to diſcouver the weakeneſſe of the wall of the old Towne, that they might the better prepare for a greater aſſault.

The aſſaillants with a kinde of artificiall fire burnt ſome of the Palizadoes that ſtood on the *Wall*, but the alarme being giuen and Generall *Vere* himſelf comming in perſon to anſwere it, cauſed our Canon & ſmall shott ſo to play vpon thē, that they ſoone retreated & bringing along with him his owne Companie Commaunded his Captain Studder, & Mr Tedcaſtle Gentleman of his horſe, to looke over the parapett to ſee if they could diſcouer any of the Ennemie, ſome foure or fiue of them being vnder it shott Studder through

through his left arme, the tyde comming in without attempting any further, the Ennemie retyred leaving a great many men ſlaine and hurt behinde them, ſome of our men ſallying out after them, tooke a Spaynard priſoner an Officer, who being examined by the Generall he tould him, that the truth was the Archduke his Maſter had taken this occaſion to diſcouer the weakeneſſe of the Towne, knowing what a ſmall number of Souldiers there were in yt, and that wee had had noe ſupplies of men nor victuals a longe time whereof his Alteze had certaine intelligence, and that without looſing any more time he was reſolued to aſſault vs, and to that end had gathered together, as many Souldiers as poſſibly he could out of *Brabant*, *Artois*, *Henegow* and divers other places to the number of ſome ten thouſand men, and to aſſault the Towne in ſundry places with hopes to take it in before Chriſtmas. Generall *Vere* having fully vnderſtood the confeſſion of this priſoner, knowing that it was true, having the like intelligence from *Callais*, & other places gaue credit vnto it.

After the Councill aboue ſaid, there paſſed ſome daies till it was neere Chriſtmaſſe, the *Archduke* being in perſon in the *Campe*, he reſolued to aſſault vs, the time being appointed all preparations and neceſſaries were brought downe into their *Approches*, the Armie being brought downe and embattailed ſtayed onely for the low water to giue on. Here began the Generalls proiect to receiue being, till now it had none, neither was it time to call the Captaines to a new Councill, either to require their adviſe, or to tell them his owne, he had his head, and his hands full, ours had not aked now, had not his waked then more for our ſafetie, then wee could for our owne. He beſtirred himſelfe on all ſides, his faculties were quick and ſtronge within him, his preparations without he diſpoſed of in this manner.

His troupes he placed moſt on Sandhill, the Porkeſpie, the Eaſt Raveline, & in the Redoubts & curtaine of the old Towne. Theſe were to defēd our breaches, the other guards were all furniſhed, as was fitting, according to the numbers of our men. The quarters held their men till the parley commenced, and by it ſecured. The *Falſe bray* vnder Sandhill was quitted by order, as not being tenible in time of aſſault, the Canō in it diſmounted leaſt it ſnould be ſpoyled by our owne from *Helmont*, which flanckerd it, & the whole face of Sandhill. This Falsbray was that dangerous paſſage mentioned in one of the obiections going before, and therefore wee thought to haue paſſed ouer it anſwer leſſe: but being otherwiſe adviſed it lay on the foote of Sandhill in the Eye of the Ennemie, and was therefore as well knowne to them as to our ſelues, and ſo was the waye to it for they ſaw daylie our entrie to that guard, to be through a Couert Gallerie, forced through the bottome of that hill: It was ſo narrow, that two men armed were the moſt could paſſe in front, when you were come out of it, you were preſently at the Havens ſide, & the new Towne, without diſcovering any guard, paſſage or place of importance, ſuch as might any way giue the leaſt advantage to an Ennemies obſervation, & was in truth in nothing elſe ſecret, but that it was couered ouer head from the eye of the havens, otherwiſe there was noe paſſage about the Towne leſſe preiudiciall then that.

There is a chip of the ſame shiuer likewiſe falne into *Emanuel de Meter* his booke, where the Generals iudgment is foorſooth coutrouled, and that by the providence of Captaine *Sinkler*, and ſome others, as they thinke much bettered. *That he is ſaid to haue neglected the Faulsbray, and that in time, when it was needefull to haue defended it, but Captaine Sinkler with other Captaines provided for it.* But how provided *Sinkler* with ſixe Muskettiers that vndertooke it, the Captaines promiſſed him two Companies to ſecond him, the place could ſcarce containe one good one, but why Muskettiers alone? and not Pikes, ſince they would make it good, & why but ſixe? & that againſt the furie of an Armie, what knowledg would they teach our Cannon to ſpare the Scots, and kill the *Spaynards*, being then ioyned *pell mell*, is not this rediculons, had Captaine *Sinkler* liued, ſurely he would haue

bin angry to haue his iudgment ſo wronged, and helde ſo ſmall, as to vndertake the defence of the *Fauſſebray*, when the Bulwarke it ſelfe was aſſaultable, but wee leaue this poore detractions, that bewrays onely the Detractours weakeneſſes, and ſo returne to the Matters.

On the two Bulwarkes formerly mentioned *Helmont*, and *Sandhill*, together with the mount of *Flamingburgh*, he placed ſtore of Artilerie, and Morters, the Morters moſt of all vpon *Helmont*, and much Ordinance, for that it ſcoured the *Avenue* of the Ennemy comming on vpon *Sandhill*, & the old Towne.

When he had thus ordered his affaires for defenſe, he began to betake him to his *Stratagem*, which indeed was our beſt shelter againſt that ſtorme. He ſent Captaine *Lewes Cortier* (who ſpake good Spanish) into the *Porke-eſpie*, the neereſt place of guard to the Ennemie, with order to deſire ſpeech with ſome of them he called twiſe, thrice, or more, but no man anſwered him, ſo he effected nothing, the Generall diſpleaſed hereat, ſent Sr *Iohn Ogle* to the ſame place, on the ſame errand, he called, but noe mā anſwered, beate a drumme, but they would not heare, vpon that he returned to the Generall, and tould him the expected forme, and if he would ſpeake with any of them, he muſt goe without the limits of our workes, the Generall deſired it, but feared they would ſhoote at him, he putt it to adventure, coming to the Havens ſide, he cauſed the Drumme to beate, & at a ſecond call one anſwered him.

After a litle ſtaye (*Riba*) the Gouvernour of Sluce *Mathew Serano* came vnto him, each made his quality knowne to other, Sr *Iohn Ogles* errand was to him, that Generall *Vere* deſired to haue ſome qualified perſon of theirs ſent into the Towne, to ſpeak with him, while he delivered this to the Archduke, Sr *Iohn Ogle* attended his returne, which was ſpeedie, and with acceptance, he tould him of his affection, and reſpect to our nation bred, and nourished by the good correſpondencie and neighbour hood, betwixt the Lord Governour of Fliſſing, Sr *Robert Sydney*, and him, he would therefore take it for a curteſie, that Generall *Vere* would nominate and deſire him of the *Archduke*, to be employed in this buyſineſſe. This was performed, and at our next meeting agreed, that Sr *Iohn Ogle* ſhould pledge for him, that each ſhould bring a companion with him, that he with his ſhould haue Generall *Veres*, and Sr *Iohn Ogle*, and his *Don Auguſtinos* word for their ſafety, that during the treaty, noe hoſtility ſhould be vſed on Land, that againſt low water, wee ſhonld finde our ſelues there againe at the ſame place, this done wee departed to our homes.

Sr *Iohn Ogle* tould the Generall what had paſſed, he perſwaded (and that erneſtly) with the Netherlandish, French & other Captains of other nations to haue ſome one of theirs accompany Sr *Iohn Ogle* in this actiou, the rather to avoyd that interpretation, which he foreſaw would follow, being mannaged by him, and his English onely: but they all refuſed, not withſtanding he aſſured ſeuerall of them his purpoſe was no other, then to gaine time, whereof Sr *Iohn Ogle* can giue the beſt teſtimonie, for he comming to him almoſt at a low water to know his further pleaſure, he found the Generall very ernſt in perſwading with an old Captaine called *Nicolas de la Laine*, to whome he heard him ſay, *Ie vous iure ce n'eſt que pour gaigner le temps*. This man refuſed aſwell as the reſt, whereupon the Generall in a choller, willed him to take whom he would, for he would appoint none, & therefore he tooke his ould companion, and then familiar frien *Captaine Faire fax*.

Serano with *Ottanes* (Sariant Maiour of a Spanish Regiment,) were at the waters ſide, when wee came *Symon Anthuries*, and *Gambelletti*, both Coronels, or *Maeſtros del Campo*, brought them ouer on horſeback to them on the other ſide, there *Don Iuan de Pantochi Adante*, receiued them, and *Don Auguſtino de Mexia* ſtood at the Batterie, behinde whome the Armie was raunged ready for the aſſault.

Theſe two brought them to the Archduke, who was then come into the approches, and accompained as became ſo great a Prince, or Hoſtages performed thoſe repects were fitting, he vouchſafed to doe them the honour as to moue his hatt, & being informed by *Hugh Owyn* (an English Gentleman, but a fugitiue) of their names, and famillies as alſo that Sr *Iohn Ogle* could ſpeake Spanish, the Archduke coniured him, as he was a Gentleman

to tell

to tell him whither there were any deceit in this handling or noe, he tould him if there were, it was more then he knew, for with his knowledg he would not be vſed as an inſtrument in a worke of that nature. The Archduke asked Sr *Iohn Ogle* then what inſtructions he had, he anſwered him none, for they were come thither onely as pledges, to aſſure the returne to whome he had giuen his. The Archduke asked him againe, whither he thought the Generall meant ſinceerly or noe, wherevnto he anſwered, that he was altogether vnacquainted with his purpoſe, but for any thing he knew he did, vpon this they were diſmiſſed, & by *Don Auguſtino* (whome *Don Iuan de Pantochi* euer attended) brought to his lodging, and there honorably and kindly entertayned, and viſited by moſt of the chiefes in the Armie, as alſo by ſome Eccleſiaſticall perſons. There came an advertiſement from the approches of worke ing within the Towne, which was occaſioned by a noize of knocking in (as they thought) of Pallizadoes, to give order to the contrarie, they were after ſupper carried thither on horſeback, our Hoſtages receiued anſwere from our men, that it was onely a Cablin of Plankes ſett vp to keepe beare in, the noize of that worke, and their ſuſpition cloſed together, yet we ſtayed ſome few howers at *Gamballetti*, the Italian Coronels guard, who at that time had the point, & *El Conde Theodoro Frimila*, and ſome other of the Cavallerie accompanied them ſome howers, after they returned into the Campe to *Don Auguſtino*, to take their reſt.

In the morning they had environned our Hoſtages lodging with a ſtronge guard, vnderſtanding the returne, and diſcontentments of *Serano* and *Ottones*, and how they had not had any ſpeech with the Generall. This newes ſtartled Sr *Iohn Ogle* and *Captaine Fairefax*, who never dreamed of any ſuch proceedings, Captaine *Fairefax* thought that Sr *Iohn Ogle* had had ſome particular, and ſecret inſtructions, and deſired him to tell him what the Fox meant to doe, wherevnto he anſwered, and tould him (as it was truth) he knew as litle thereof as he, but called to minde the diſcourſe, which Generall *Vere* had held with him in his lodging, which is formerly mentioned, and Comparing it with the actions, Sr *Iohn Ogle* ſaid to Captain *Fairefax*, that he verely beleeued he meant to putt a trick vpon the Ennemie. By my faith ſaid (Capt. Fairefax) the trick is putt vpon vs, for we are priſonners and in their powers, they at liberty, and our Iudges.

Don *Auguſtino* comming to them gaue an end to this diſcourſe, and began an other with Sr *Iohn Ogle* in his owne chamber, where with a graue, and a ſetled countenance he tould him of the Commiſſioners returne, their Entertainement, and diſcontentment, as alſo the Archdukes towards Sr *Iohn Ogle*, for abuſing him, vrging eſpecially theſe two points, that he had tould *Serano*, that the Generall deſired ſpeech with ſome from his highneſſe, which ſeemed not to be ſo, for he had flatly refuſed it. Moreover, that he had ſaid to his highneſſe himſelfe, that he was no Inſtrument of deceit, which alſo appeared otherwiſe, and would not (as he might make his account) be ſo ſlightly paſſed ouer.

*W*herevnto (Sr *Iohn Ogle* anſwered) that the Commiſſioners being returned without ſpeech with the Generall, ſeemed as ſtronge to him, as vnexpected of them, and that he was the more ſenſible of this diſcourteſy towards them, through the kind vſage, which he and his companion had receiued here from them: but as he was not of the Councell in this manner of proceeding: ſo he knew as litle how to helpe it, as he reached not the drift.

Touching the other point of his highneſſe diſpleaſure towards him, he hoped ſo noble a Prince, would admit noe other impreſſion of his perſon, or actions, then the integrity of both ſhall fairely deliuer him, for if he had deceiued his highneſſe, it was more then probable he had deceiued himſelf, neither did he beleeue, that his highneſſe, or any of them would iudge him ſo flatt, ſo ſtupid, as vpon knowledge of ſuch a purpoſe of irritating his highneſſe, he would deliuer himſelf, and his frend, as ſacrifices to make an other mans attonement. It was certaine then if the Generall did intend fraude in this action, he borrowed their perſons, not their conſents to worke it by, which though they were both now in their power, yet would he not once feare the leaſt ill meaſure, ſo longe as he had the word of *Don Auguſtino* for his ſafety. The noble Gentleman moved with Sr *Iohn Ogles*

confidence, tooke him in his armes, aſſured it him againe, as alſo any curteſie elſe, during his ſtay there, and was (indeede) as good as his word.

This thus paſſed, Don *Auguſtine* tould him, he would faithfully relate to the Archduke, what he hath ſaid, but yet eer he went to his highneſſe, deſired to kow of him, what he thought was further to be done therein, Sr *Iohn Ogle* tould him, it could not be, but that there muſt be a mistakeing on the one ſide, or on the other, and therefore to cleare all doubts, he held it the beſt expedient, to writ to the Generall, to let him know his preſent condition, his highneſſe diſcontentment vpon this manner of proceeding, the danger he had expoſed them vnto, and to vnderſtand his further purpoſe for their enlargement.

This letter *Don Auguſtino* carryed preſently to his highneſſe, & it was interpreted by Owyn to him, then ſent by a meſſenger into the Towne, and thus was the great rubb removed, the Commiſſioners required, and ſent in, & the parley brought vpon the former foote againe.

The Generall was not a litle glad of their returne, for it redeemed the feare he had of our hoſtagiers, who as Captaine *Charles Ruſſart* tould Sr *Iohn Ogle* afterwards, was not a litle perplexed in his behalfe, in ſaying, what ſhall I doe for my Lieutenant Coronell & wished he had him back, though he payed his ranſome fiue times ouer, & ſometimes he comforted himſelfe with hopes of their civility, and his demeanour, fearing the worſt (ſaid he) that Sr *Iohn Ogle* could not ſuffer better then for the publick cauſe.

The reaſon why the Generall ſo hazarded the Hoſtagiers, and handled them ſo, was to gaine ſo much more time for that was precious to him, for the advancement (& repairing) of his workes in the ould Towne, which through the benifit of this ceſſation of hoſtility, he had drawne (in the night) moſt of the hands that could labour, giving them Spades in their hands to worke, and order vpon any occaſion to haue their Armes in a readineſſe by them. He handled the matter ſo, that eere the Cōmiſſioners returned againe, the ould Towne and workes were ſtronger by a thouſand men, then they were before. He could neuer haue done this, at leaſt ſo conveniently had he begun conference with him, at their firſt entrie, nor avoyded that, had he ſtayed them in the Towne. At leaſt every man hath his owne waies to his owne ends and he vnderſtood it ſo, and it was a ſure & a ſafe courſe both for himſelf and his deſſigne, for cauſing *Edward Couldwell* (a Gentleman that then waited on him in his chamber afterward a Captaine well knowne) to make an alarme at their entrie, he pretended therevpon trecherie on to the Ennemies part (and that they came too neere to diſcouer the workes) makeing it the cauſe, why he would neither lett them ſtay in Towne, nor returne the way they came. This bred diſpute, and meſſengers paſt to and fro betwixt them and the Generall. In the meane time the Floud came in, & the waters waxed ſo high, that there was noe paſſage that way without a boate, whereof there was none on that ſide of the Towne, nor any brought, for that had bin to haue croſſed his owne purpoſe. The commiſſioners deſired earneſtly to be ſuffred to ſtaye though it were vpō the worſt gard of the Towne, but it was denied for the Generall muſt rid himſelf of them, otherwiſe he could not doe his buyſineſſe ſo wel, if their eies & eares were ſo nigh him, he ſent them therefore to their frendson the Eaſt ſide, forecaſting wiſely, that ere they could come there and thence by the South (in fetching a circumference through the drowne lands ſome 10 or 12 English miles) to the *Weſt* ſide againe, there to haue admittance to his highneſſe, & the matter debated in Councill, he would not onely gaine, that whole winters night, but moſt part of the next day for his advantage, which fell out according to that calculation, & beyond his Expectation it continued longer. And thus farre out of a diſcourſe of Sr *Iohn Ogles*, who hath giuen the beſt teſtimonie & trueſt relation of Generall *Veres* Parley with the Ennemie.

The next day towards evening the Ennemies Commiſſioners *Serana*, and *Ottanes* returned againe, Generall *Vere* his latter entertainment was better then his firſt, for he then feaſted them made them the beſt cheere he could, dranke many healths, as the *Queene of Englands*, the *King of Spanies*, the *Archdukes*, *Prince Maurices* and diverſe others, & diſcourſed with them at the table before his brother Sr *Horace Vere*, and the chiefe Officers of the Towne,

Towne, whome he had invited to keepe them Companie, and having drunke freely led them into his owne chamber, and layd them in his owne bed, to take their reſts.

The Commiſſioners going to bed, the Generall tooke his leaue of them, and preſently after went to the old Towne, where he found Captaine *Dexter*, and Captaine *Clarke* with their men ſilently at worke, and having bene with them an howre or two, to giue them directions, what they should doe, returning to his lodging, layd him downe vpon his quilt, and gaue me charge that an hower before day, I should goe to *Raph Dexter*, and commaund him from him, not to draw of his men till the dawning of the day, but that they should follow their worke luſtely. And comming to him at the time appointed according to my Lords commaund, after the breake of the day, wee looked out towards the Sea, and eſpyed fiue men of warre come out of Zealand, riding in the Roade, which had brought 400 men and ſome matterials for the Sea workes, & coming home I waked my Maſter, & tould him the firſt newes of it. He preſently ſent for the Captaine of the Chaloups & longe boates, which launcing out landed thē on the Straund, by our new hauen, not withſtanding that the Ennemie shott mightely vpon them with their Canon, from their foure Batteries of the Eaſt and *Weſt* ſide to ſinke and hinder their landing, yet did noe other harme but onely hurt three marriners.

Theſe peeces of Ordinance rowſed *Serano* from his naked bedd, and knocking, asked mee what was the reaſon of this shooting, I anſwered him in French, *Il y avoit quelques gens d' Armes des noſtres entrez dans le ville*, whereat he was much amazed, & would hardly giue credit to it, till Captaine Potley, who came with theſe ships, and whome he knew well, was brought before him and aſſured him it was ſo.

Vpon this pretext of ſuccour from the States, the Generall tooke an occaſion to breake of the treaty, which he yet had not really entred into, & ſo by the helpe of God vpon the 25th of December being Chriſtmas day, wee gott in theſe men Munition and ſome Matterials into the Towne, and an other nights worke beſides.

To excuſe this to the Archduke my Lord Sr *Francis Vere* tooke a pen and ynke & paper & wrote this letter in French, firſt with his owne hand, and afterward made me writ it ouer in a faire Italian hand as followeth.

Wee haue heretofore held it neceſſarie for certaine reaſons to treate with the Deputies, which had authority from your highneſſe, but while wee were about to conclude vpon the conditions, and articles there are arrived certaine of our ships of warre, bywhome we had receiued part of that, whichwee had neede of, ſo as we cannot with our honour and oath continew the trealy, nor proceede in it, the which wee hope your highneſſe will not take in all part, and yet when your power shall reduce vs to the like eſtate, you will not leaue (as a moſt Generous Prince) to giue vs a gentle audience.

From our Towne of *Oſtend* the 25th of December 1601. Signed *F. Vere.*

The Commiſſioners were on both ſides diſcharged in this order, *Serano* the Governour of Sluce, came firſt into the Armie with this letter, It was Sr *Iohn Ogles* right to haue come firſt, but Captaine *Faire fax* was firſt ſent, becauſe Don *Iuan de Pantochi* and ſome others, deſired Sr *Iohn Ogles* Company the longer: *Ottanes* the Spanish Sariant Maiour being come, then came Sr *Iohn Ogle*, who being receiued againe into the Towne, the warres began againe hott betweene vs, and many peeces of Ordinance diſcharged betweene vs.

NOW FOLLOWES THE BLOUDIE ASSAVLT, GIVEN BY THE ARMIE OF *ALBERTVS* THE ARCHDVKE OF *AVSTRIA*, VPON the Towne of *Ostend*, after this Parlie, and how bravely they were repulsed by Sir *Francis Vere Generall*, on the seuenth of Ianuarie 1602.

STILO NOVO.

HIs highnesse the Archduke then seing himselfe thus deluded by Generall *Vere* his Parly, was much vexed thereat, & very angrie with the Chiefes of his Councill of warre, who had diverted him from giving the Assault vpon that day when the parley was called for, insomuch that some of them, two or three daies after (as it was credibly reported) durst not looke him in the face, others to please him perswaded him to giue an assault vpon the Towne. Herevpon his Highnesse tooke a resolution to revenge himselfe of those within the Towne, saying, he would putt them all to the sword, his Commanders and Souldiers takeing likewise an oath, that if they entred, they would not spare man, woman, nor child in yt. Till that day the Ennemie had shott vpon and into the Towne aboue 163200 Canō shott, to beate it about our eares, scarce leaving a whole house standing: but now to power out his wroth and furie more vpon vs, on the seuenth of Ianuary abouesaid, very early in the Morning, he began with 18 peeces of Cannon and halfe Cannon carrying bullets of 40 & 48 pounds apeece, from their Pile Batterie, and that which stood vnder their Catt vpon the foote of the Downes, to batter Sandhill, the Porke-espie, and *Helmont*, and that day till evening shott vpon Sandhill, and the curtaine of the old Towne, aboue two and twentie hundred Cannon shott: Insomuch that it might rather haue bin called *Yron-hill* then Sandhill, for it stuck so full of bullets, that many of them tumbled downe into the falsebray, & others stricking on their owne bullets breaking in peeces, flew vp into the aire as high as a steeple. During this furious Batterie, the Ennemie all the day long made great preparations to assault vs against night, and to that end, brought downe scaling ladders, great store of Amunition, Handgranadoes, and diverse other Instruments, and Matterials of warre fitting therevnto. And with all towards evening drew downe his Armie, and ordered his men in this manner. Count *Farneze* an Italian should first giue on with 2000 Italians, and Spaynards vpon Sandhill, the Breach, and the curtaine of the old Towne, the Gouernour of *Dixmude* with 2000 Spaynards and other nations vpon the Porke-espy and *Helmont*. An other Captaine with 500 men to fall on vpon the *West*-Raveline. An other Captaine with 500 men more vpon the South-quarries, and the Spanish Sariant Maiour Generall, which was a Hostage in *Ostend* vpon the *West* quarries, makeing in all 8000 men to assault the *West* side, and the Count of *Bucquoy* was to haue assaulted the East side, the East-Raveline and the New-hauen, as a second for them which fell on vpon Sandhill, and the old Towne on the *West* side, and thus their men, time, and place was ordered.

Generall *Vere* knowing the Ennemies intent, that he would assault vs at a low water slept not, but was exceeding carefull and vigilent all the day, to prepare things necessary to defend the Towne, and withstand the Ennemy. And because there were noe Sparrs, Beames, and Palizadoes in the Magazin, caused divers houses that were shott to be pulled downe, takeing the Beames and Sparrs from of them, made the Carpenters make Palizadoes and Steckadoes of them, and at a high water shutt the *West* Sluces, and engrossed as much water as possibly he could into the old and new Towne. And towards evening drew all the men in the Towne, that were able to fight into Armes, and disposeth of them as followeth.

To maintaine Sandhill and defend the breach, he placed his brother Sr *Horace Vere*, and Sr *Charles Fairefax* with 12 weake Companies, whereof some of them were not aboue ten or twelue men stronge, giving them double Armes, a Pike & a Musket, & good store of Amunition.

Vpon the curtaine of the old Towne, betweene Sandhill & a Redoubt called Scottenburch,

burch, a moſt dangerous place, which he feared moſt, being torne and beaten downe, with the Sea and the Ennemies Canon, Sr *Francis Vere* ſtood himſelfe with Captaine *Zeglin*, with ſixe weake Companies to help to defend it.

*W*ithin the Redoubt of Schottenburch it ſelfe he appointed Captaine *Vtenhoven*, and Captaine *Haſton* with their two Companies.

From Scottenburch along the curtaine to the old Church, which the Ennemie had shott downe, he placed Coronell *Lone* with three hundred Zealanders that came into the Towne the day the parly brake of.

From the old Church alonge the Curtaine, and the Flankes to the North part Captaine *Zithan* commaunded ouer ſixe weake Companies.

Vpon the Redoubt called Moſes table was Captaine *Monteſquir de Roques* (a worthy French Captaine, whom Sr *Francis Vere* loued entirely for the worth, and valour that was in him) with two French Companies.

For the garding of the North Raveline, he appointed Captaine *Charles Roſſard* with foure weake Companies, the reſt of the curtaine by reaſon of the Flancks vpon the cutt of the new hauen, being reaſonable well defended was left vnmand.

Vpon the curtaine of the new Towne vnder Flaming-burch were placed fiue weake Companies to ſecond Moſes table if neede did require.

Vpon Flaming-burch two whole Canon, and two Feild peeces were planted to ſcoure the old Towne.

Vpon the *W*eſt Raveline two Companies were likewiſe placed, and a whole Canon, and two halfe Canons planted vpon it.

For the defending of the Pork-Eſpie a place of great importance lying vnder *Helmont*, Sr *Francis Vere* placed foure of the ſtrongeſt Cõpanies that could be found in the Towne.

Vpon the Bulwarke called *Helmont*, which Flancked directly the Breach & Sandhill, & ſcoured along the Strand betweene the Ennemies Pile-Batterie, the old Haven ouer which they were to paſſe, to come to Sandhill, and the curtaine of the old Towne, which alſo did helpe to defend the Porke-Eſpie he placed ten weake Companies, whereof the Generals Companie was one, and had vpon it nine braſſe and yron peeces, laden with chayne bullets, *B*oxſes with Musket bullets, and cartridge short. Theſe ten Companies were kept as a reſerue, to be employed as a ſecond where moſt occaſion required, & were commanded by Captaine *Metkirck*, and Sariant Maiour *Carpenter*.

The reſt of the Bulwarks, Rampters, & the Counterskarſe about the Towne, were but ſlightly manned with a few men, in regard the Ennemie could not come to attẽpt none of them, til he became Maſter of the former. Here yow ſee a great many Companies thus diſpoſed of but al & the moſt of them were exceeding weake and ſome of them not aboue ſeuen or 8 men ſtronge, which in all could not make aboue 1200 able fighting men, to reſiſt an Armie of 10000 men that ſtood ready to aſſault them.

The Ordinance and other Inſtruments and Matterials of warre, the Generall diſpoſed of in this ſort, vpon the Caſement of the *W*eſt Bulwarke there he planted two whole and two halfe Canons, which Flancked *Helmont* and the Pork-Eſpie, and ſcowred alonge the old-haven, downe as farre as the Ton-beacon, beyond their Pile Batterie next to that place were they were to paſſe ouer the Haven at a low water. Theſe Ordinance were likewiſe charged with Muskett bullets, Chain bullets, and Yron Bullets.

Vpon all theſe Batteries, eſpecially thoſe which flanckred the Breach, and playd directly vpon the Strande Sr *Francis Vere* made choiſe of the beſt Cannoniers in the Towne, amonge the reſt an English man called *Francis the Gurmer*, an excellent Cannonier, which hath bin the death of many a Spaynard, and becauſe they should be ſure to take their marke right vpon there cogg, before it grew darke he commaunded them to lett fly two or three Canon bullets vpon the Strand and towards the new Haven to ſee for a tryall where there bullets fell, that they might finde their ground the better in the night, when the Ennemie was to fall on.

Moreouer, vpon the Topp of the breach, & along the curtaine of the old Towne were ſett firkins of Ashes to be tumbled downe the wall vpon the Ennemie to blinde them,

also litle firkins with Frize Ruyters or quadrāt Tanter nailes three sticking in the ground and one vpright, which were likewise to be cast downe the rampier to prick them, when they sought to enter, then many great heapes of stones, and brickbatts, which the Souldiers fought from the old Church they had shott downe, to throw amongst them, then wee had ropes of pitch, hoopes bound about with squibs, & fire workes to throw among them: great store of hand-Granadoes, and clubbs, which wee called Hercules clubbs) with heavie heads of wood and nailes driuen into the squares of them, these and some others (because the Ennemy had sworne all our deaths) the Generall provided to entertaine and welcome them.

When it began to grow darkish a litle before low water, in the interim while the Ennemie was a cooling of his Ordinance, which had playd all the day long vpon the breach, and the old Towne, The Generall takeing advantage of this precious time, commaunded Captaine *Dexter*, & Captaine *Clarke* with some 50 stout workemen, who had a rosenoble a peece for a quarter of an howers worke, to gett vp to the topp of the breach, which the Ennemies Canon had made very mountable, and there with all expedition to cast vp a small brest-worke, & driue in as many *Palizadoes* as possibly they could, that his brother Sr *Horace Vere*, and the rest of the Captaines and Souldiers, which he commaunded, might haue some litle shelter the better to defend the breach and repulse the Ennemy when he striued to enter, which blessed be God with the losse of a few men they performed. This being done, Sr *Francis Vere* went through the sally port downe into the Falsebray, and being twilight called for an old Souldier a Gentleman of his Companie, to goe out Centinell perdu, and creeping out to the Strand betweene two gabions, gaue him expresse command that if he saw an Ennemie, he should come into him silently, without giving any alarum at all. He crept vpon his belly as far as he could, and at last discouvered Count *Farneze* aboue mentioned, wading, and putting ouer the old hauen aboue their Pile-Batterie, with his two thousand Italians which were to fall on first, and as they waded ouer he drew them vp into Battaillons and diuisions, which this Gentleman discovering, came in silently to Sr *Francis Vere* (as he had commanded him) who asked him what newes, my Lord said he, I smell good store of gold chaines, buffierkens, Spanish Cassocks, and Spanish blades, ha (saies Sr *Francis Vere*) sayest thou me so, I hope thou shall haue some of them anon, and giving him a peece of gould, he went vp againe through the sally port to the topp of Sandhill, where he gaue expresse order to Sariant Maiour *Carpenter*, to goe to *Helmont*, & euery man to his charge, & not to take any alarum, or shoot of, either Canon or Muskett shott till he himselfe gaue the signall, and then to giue fire both with the Ordinance and small shott, as fast as euer they could charge & discharge. When the Ennemie had putt ouer his 2000 Italians, he had also a signall to giue notice thereof to the Count of *Bucquoy*, that they were ready to fall on, whose signall was the shott of a Canon frō their Pile-batter, with a hollow holed Bullett into the Sea towards his quarter, which made a humming noize. When Generall *Vere* had gott them vnder the soupe of his Canon, and small shott he powred such a volley of Canon, and Muskett shott vpon them, rakeing through their battallions, and makeing such lanes amongst them vpon the bare Strand, which did so amaze and startle them, that they were at an nonplus, whether they should fall on, or retreate back againe, yet at last takeing courage, and tumbling ouer their dead bodies, reallyed themselues, and came vnder the foote of Sandhill, and alonge the foote of the curtaine of the old Towne to the very piles that were strooke vnder the wall, where they began to make readie to send vs a volley, which Sr *Francis Vere* seing that they were presenting and ready to giue fire vpon vs, because indeed, all the brest and parapet was beaten downe flatt to the rampier that day with their Ordinance, and wee standing open to the Ennemies shott commanded all the Souldiers to fall flat downe vpon the ground, while the Ennemies shott, flew like a showre of haile ouer their heads, which for the reasons aboue said saued a great many mens liues. This being done, our men rysing, saw the Ennemie hasting to come vp to the breach, and mounting vp the wall of the old Towne Sr *Francis Vere* flourishing his litle sword called to them in Spanish, and Italian

Viennez

Vienneza, cauſing the Souldiers as they climmed vp, to caſt and tumble downe among them, the firkins of Aſhes, the Barrils of Frize-Ruyters, the hoopes, ſtones, & brick batts, which were provided for them. The Alarum being giuen, it was admirable to ſee with what courage and reſolution our men fought, yea the Lord did as it were infuſe freſh courage and ſtrength into a companie of poore ſnakes & ſick Souldiers, which came runing out of their hutts vp to the *W*all to fight their ſhares, and the women with their lapps full of powder to ſupply them when they had ſhott away all their Amunition, now was the *W*alls of *Oſtend* all on a light fire, and our Ordinance thundring vpon them from our Bulwarkes, now was a lamentatle cry of dying men among them, for they could noe ſonner come vp to the top of the breach to enter it, or peepe vp betweene Sandhill & Schottenburch, but they were either knock on the head, with the ſtocks of our Muskets, our Hercules clubbs, or ran throw with our Pikes and ſwords. Twiſe or thrice when they ſtriued to enter, they were beaten of, and could gett noe advantage vpon vs. The fight vpon the breach & the old Towne continued hotter and hotter for the ſpace of aboue an hower, the Ennemie falling on at the ſame inſtant vpon the Porke-Eſpy, *Helmont*, the *W*eſt Raveline, & quarries were ſo brauely repulſt, that they could not enter a man. The Ennemy fainting and having had his belly full, thoſe on the *W*eſt ſide beate a dolefull retreate, while the Lord of Hoſts ended our diſpute for the Towne, crowned vs with Victorie, makeing the roaring noize of our Cannon, rending the aire, and rouling along the ſuperficies of the water, the winde being South, and with vs carried that night the newes thereof to our Frends in England and Holland. Generall *Vere* perceiving the Ennemie to fall of commaunded mee to run as faſt as ever I could to Sariant Maiour *Carpenter*, & the Auditour Fleming who were vpon *Helmont*, that they ſhould preſently open the *W*eſt Sluce, out of which there ran ſuch aſtreame and Torrent downe throw the channell of the *W*eſt hauen that vpon their retreate it carryed away many of their ſound and hurt men into the Sea, & beſides our men fell downe our *W*alls after them, ſlew a great many of them as they retreated and tooke ſome priſoners, pilliged & ſtript a great many of their men, & brought in gould Chaines, Spanish Piſtolls, buff ierkins, Spanish Caſſocks, Blades, Swords, and Tarkets, amonge the reſtone wherein was ena maneled in gold the ſeuen worthes worth 7 or 8 hundred gilders, and among the reſt that Souldier, which Sr *Francis Vere* had ſent out to diſcouer, with as much rich boote as euer he could lugg, ſaying, that Sr *Francis Vere* was now as good as his word. Vnder Sandhill and all along vnder the *W*alls of the old Towne, the Porke-eſpie, and *W*eſt Raveline lay whole heapes of dead Carkeiſes 40 or 50 vpon a heape ſtarknaked, goodly yonge men, Spaynards, & Italians, amonge which ſome of them, beſides ſome other markes to know them had their beards cleane ſhauen off. Their lay alſo vpon the ſand ſome dead horſe with baskets of hand-Granadoes, leaving alſo behinde them, their ſcaling ladders, great ſtore of Spades and showels, Bills, Hatches, and Axes, with other Matterials.

Vpon the Eaſt ſide alſo they ſtood in three great *B*attaillons, before the Towne vpon the Gullet, but the tide coming in came to late, ſo that they could not ſecond thoſe on the *W*eſt ſide, and fall on were they were appointed to wit, vpon our new Haven, which lay vpon the North Eaſt ſide of the Towne: for the water beginning to riſe', it did amaze the Souldiers, and they feared if they ſtayed any longer, they could not be relieued by their fellowes, how ſoeuer for their honours they would doe ſome thing and reſolued to giue on vpon our *S*panish half Moone, which lay ouer the Gullet on the *S*outh Eaſt part of the Towne, but a Souldier of ours falling out of it a policie of Sr *Francis Vere* diſappointed this deſſigne, and yeelded himſelf priſoner vnto them: telling them that there were but forty Souldiers in the halfe Moone, and offred to lead them to it, which he did, and they tooke it eaſely. For Generall *Vere* with great iudgment had left it thus ill manned to draw the Ennemie on the Eaſt ſide thither, to ſeparate them from their fellowes on the *W*eſt ſide, to make them looſe time, contenting himſelf to guard the ſtrongeſt places of moſt importance, aſſuring himſelfe that he ſhould ſoone recouver the weaker.

The Archdukes men having thus taken the halfe Moone, and being many therein, they began with Spades, showels Pik-Axes, & other Instruments, to turne it vp against the Towne, but all prevailed not, for it lay open towards the Towne, & those of the Towne began to shoote at them from the South and Spanish Bulwarks, both with Canon and and Musket shott, with such furie, as they slew many of them, and withall seing the tide come in more and more they began to faint, wherevpon Generall *Vere* sent Captaine *Day* with some troupes to beate them out of it, who with great courage chazed them out of it with the effusion of much bloode, for the next day they tould 300 men slaine in the halfe Moone, besides those that were drowned and hurt.

In this Generall assault which on both sides of the Towne continued aboue two howers vpon all the places aboue mentioned. The Archduke (besides some that were carryed into the Sea) lost aboue two thousand men. Amonge the which there were a great number of Noble men Chiefs and Commanders, amongst the rest, the Count *d'Imbero*, an Italian who offred as much gould as he did waye for his Ransome, and yet he was slaine by a private Souldier. *Don Durango Maestro del Campo*, or Colonell. *Don Alvares Snares* knight of the order of Saint Iaques, *Symon Anthonio* Coronell. The Sariant Maiour Generall, who had bin in hostage in *Ostend* on the 24 & 25th of December 1601. & the Lieutenant Gouverneur of Antwerpe with diverse others.

On our side there were slaine, betweene 30 and 40 Souldiers, and about 100 hurt, the men of commaund slaine were Captaine *Haughton*, Captaine *Nicolaes vanden Litr*, a Lieutenant of the new *Geux*, two English Lieutenants, an Ancient, and Captaine *Haftons* two Sariants, & *Mr Tedcastle* Gentleman of Sr *Francis Veres* horse, who was slaine (betweene Sr *Francis Vere* and my self his page) with two Musket bullets chayne togeither, & calling to mee bad me pull of his gold ring from of his litle finger, & send it to his Sister as a token of his last Good-night, and so commending his spirit, into the hands of the Lord dyed, Sir *Horace Vere* was likewise hurt in the legg, with a Splinter that flew from a *Palizado*, & thus much briefly of the Assault, and the repulse they receiued in *Ostend* that day and night in memorie of the heroick Actions of Sr *Francis Vere* (of famous memorie) my old Master.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

The Grenville Library